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EDITORIAL

Again the Review publishes a major contribution to the theme of the theology of the Anabaptists in Gordon Kaufman's study of "Some Theological Emphases of the Early Anabaptists." By limiting the treatment to the first ten years (1525-1535) and the Swiss-South German movement the author has made the task of integrating and interpreting the sources much easier. That he was able to assemble an impressively extensive body of citations from published English materials alone is a striking testimony to the recent progress of Anabaptist research in English. (We may be permitted a pardonable satisfaction in the fact that much of the material was drawn from the past 23 volumes of this journal.) But more significant than the wealth of citations is the sharp insight, keen discrimination, and generally sound and helpful systematizing which the author accomplishes. His successful breaking away from certain traditional categories of theological analysis has enabled him more faithfully to describe the Anabaptist "theology" than some of the older interpreters, for this theology was far more an affair of simple and glowing testimony of convictions drawn from the Scriptures and life than it was a matter of "dogmatics" in the classical sense.

The 1633 Anabaptist (Hutterite) Ordinance on Nonresistance, which Robert Friedmann edits for us in this issue, is a powerful witness to the sturdiness, the clarity and the steadfastness of the nonresistant faith of the Hutterites. Arising directly from a life situation and designed to fortify the group against even the slightest deviation, it is a welcome addition to the documents which testify to the universality and vitality of this doctrine among the Anabaptists during the first century of their history.

There have been several recent biographical treatments and evaluations of Christopher Dock, but no thorough study of Dock's educational theory and practice from the point of view of modern education. The 200th anniversary of the writing (1750) of his famous *Schulordnung,* the first systematic pedagogical treatise published (1770) in America, gives a good occasion for an exhaustive analysis and evaluation of the book by a well-trained modern educator. Dr. Karl Massanari, Professor of Education at Goshen College, does this very rewardingly in his article, "The Contribution of Christopher Dock to Contemporary Christian Teaching." The "modernness" of Dock's pedagogy which the article reveals is astonishing, and our respect grows for the "pious schoolmaster on the Skippack" who succeeded so well in educating the whole man and producing a truly integrated "Christian" education.

The bibliographical and research section in this issue is devoted to the Amish, with an extensive report on recent research and current source materials by John Umble who has a long and fruitful record of study and publication in this field, and a more detailed analysis of a special field, the treatment of the Amish in current textbooks in rural sociology, by a rising young scholar, John A. Hostetler, now in graduate study at Pennsylvania State College. We are delighted also to be able at last to resolve the vexed question of the origin (though not the end) of Jacob Amman, the founder of the Amish branch of Mennonites, through a convincing source study by Dr. Delbert Gratz, on "The Home of Jacob Amman." Dr. Gratz recently completed a doctorate at the University of Bern with a dissertation on the Bernese Anabaptists, several chapters of which will be published in coming issues of the Review.

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SOME THEOLOGICAL EMPHASES OF THE EARLY SWISS ANABAPTISTS*

GORDON D. KAUFMAN

I. INTRODUCTION

The Anabaptist movement began as a part of the Zwinglian reform in Zurich and therefore, as one would expect, in general the Anabaptists agree with the Zwinglians in theology. In the public debates which were often held between Anabaptist leaders and those of the Reformed church, questions of theology usually played a very minor role. Wolfgang Capito, a leading reformer of Strassburg, wrote in 1527: "As concerns the principal articles and vital points of faith, they do not err at all."[a] The correctness of this judgment is evidenced by an examination of written materials left by the Anabaptists. The Trinitarian conception of the Godhead, the divine-human character of the person of Christ, salvation and justification by faith, the sinfulness of man and original sin,

* The two chapters of this article are taken from a six chapter term paper on "Theological Emphases of the Early Anabaptists" prepared for Professor Calhoun's class in the History of Christian Doctrine at Yale Divinity School. The author wishes to call attention to two limitations of the paper: (1) The source material utilized in the paper was restricted to the Swiss Brethren because the intention of the paper was to try to reconstruct the theology of the very early phases of the Anabaptist movement, *i.e.*, the first five or six years, and (2) the paper has been restricted to sources in English translations.

[a] R. J. Smithson, *The Anabaptists.* London: James Clarke & Co. 1935, p. 186. (See J. W. Baum, *Capito und Butzer, Strassburgs Reformatoren* (Elberfeld, 1860), 375. John Horsch has assembled similar statements from Zwingli (*M.Q.R.*, Oct., 1931, IV, 250). Note also his quotation from the Zofingen Gespräch from the mouths of the Reformed preachers: "We are of one mind in the leading articles of faith, and our controversy has to do only with external things not in accord with the gospel."

the symbolic character of the sacraments, and the authority of Scripture were all accepted by the Brethren.[b] Because of this general overall similarity with Protestant doctrine, and especially with Reformed doctrine, this paper will not attempt a comprehensive review of the whole of Christian doctrine as understood by the early Anabaptists, but will attempt to indicate the unique point of view with which they viewed the whole body of Christian doctrine.

The first section of this paper deals with the Anabaptist view

[b] There seems to be very little direct evidence regarding Anabaptist belief on the problem of the Trinity. This fact (indicating that the Reformed theologians had no controversy with the Anabaptists on this issue) would in itself seem to be evidence that the early Anabaptists were not anti-Trinitarians as Servetus was. (See R. L. Calhoun, *Lectures on the History of Christian Doctrine.* New Haven, Conn.: R. L. Calhoun. 1948. pp. 405-408.) In Bullinger's list of charges against the early Anabaptists, anti-Trinitarianism is not mentioned. (Horsch, "The Faith of the Swiss Brethren." *M.Q.R.* (1930) 5:24.) An early sermon (1527) perhaps by Langenmantel begins: "In the Name of the undivided three-fold God . . . ." (J. C. Wenger: "Two Early Anabaptist Tracts," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*: 1948. 22:37). Marpeck stated: "It is necessary as well as comforting for Christians to have a fundamental knowledge, that is to believe in one eternal God, in three Persons or Names, God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, but one in essence." (J. C. Wenger, "Theology of Pilgram Marpeck," *Mennonite Quarterly Review.* 1938. 12:215. Also see R. Friedmann, "The Encounter of Anabaptists and Mennonites with Anti-Trinitarianism," *Mennonite Quarterly Review.* 1948. 22:139-162.) It must of course be recognized that very likely both Denck and Hetzer had anti-Trinitarian leanings. (See Alfred Coutts, *Hans Denck.* Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace. 1927. pp. 156-159. F. L. Weis, *The Life, Teachings and Works of Ludwig Hetzer.* Dorchester, Mass.: Underhill Press. 1930. Pp. 201-203, 214-215.) It would seem, however, that by and large the early Anabaptists were orthodox on this point.

Capito said (1527): "Their most prominent point of teaching is that, we should hear Christ, the Son of God, and that whoever believes in Him has everlasting life." (John Horsch, *The Mennonites of Europe.* Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1942, 371.) In the case of the Incarnation and the person of Christ, there is no evidence of unorthodox beliefs, and very little evidence of any kind. In an appeal sent from the Hutterian community to Moravian noblemen (c. 1545) it is stated: "As the foundation and ground of our faith we unite to inform you, that we believe on the only, eternal, living God—who created and preserves heaven and earth and that therein is—who has power over the hearts of all men and has begotten us again through the word of truth and made us his children through Jesus Christ who is one with God the Father in essence—made man in the virgin Mary in order to save the sinners who turn to God . . . the Holy Ghost . . . proceeded from the Father and Son and is, with the Son and Father in power and being, one God. . . ." (W. J. McGlothlin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith.* Phil.: American Baptist Publication Society, 1911. p. 20.) Marpeck also spoke of Christ as "true God and true man." (Wenger, "Theology of Pilgram Marpeck," *op. cit.*, p. 218.)

Martin Bucer (Reformed leader) stated after some conferences with Sattler that "his principal objection to infant baptism was the general belief that man is christened, or saved, through it, when in fact it is faith that saves." (Horsch, "The Faith of the Swiss Brethren," *op. cit.*, 5:129). Blaurock (before 1529) said: "Christ Jesus came to bring again what was lost through the fall of Adam, through which we all would be dead in sin if God had not sent His Son and given Him all power in heaven and on earth, that every one would call upon His name and trust in Him should have eternal life. Through His death all who call upon His name shall have forgiveness of sins . . . we broke the bread and partook of the cup in order to be mindful that we all were redeemed by the one body of Christ and cleansed by one blood . . ." (*Ibid.*). The first Anabaptist confession of faith written by Sattler and adopted by a group at Schleitheim, Feb. 24, 1527, stated the requirement of baptism as believing "truly that their sins are taken away by Christ . . ." (Wenger, *The Doctrines of the Mennonites.* Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House. 1950. p. 70.) Numerous other quotations on this point could be cited. (See Horsch, "The Faith of the Swiss Brethren," *op. cit.*)

of the conditions which must be met before Christian character and the Christian life can develop. These are mainly acts which God has performed—notably the redemptive work of Jesus Christ—together with man's necessary response in faith and trust. The second section deals with the consequences that follow in the individual disciple when the prescribed conditions are satisfactorily met. To be a balanced survey of Anabaptist theology, there should be a third section dealing with the other major consequence of God's redeeming activity—the Christian community—but because of space limitations that will not be included in this paper.

It should be emphasized that any schematization and systematic analysis of this sort necessarily destroys the peculiar vitality in the living existential situation which is being described. Living ideas have a certain autonomy and ineffability and must be somewhat unnaturally squeezed and distorted to fit them into a systematic mold. Furthermore, somewhat artificial distinctions and abstractions out of the living concrete reality must be made, thus in a sense destroying by the very act of systematization and communication what is intended to be communicated. These facts are especially true of something like early Anabaptist theology which was in a very real sense lived rather than carefully formulated and systematized. Yet, if one is to try to communicate with a minimum of ambiguity the underlying thought patterns and motivations, some framework or organizing principle must be utilized.

II. God's Redemptive Activity

The central conviction of the Christian community since its inception has been that God is not only the Creator of man and the world, but the Redeemer as well. When a too involved ecclesiastical machinery began to overly obscure this fact and to in fact tend to arrogate aspects of this work of God to an earthly institution and to earthly practices, the Reformation attempted to return to the central convictions of the Christian faith. Attention was again focused on the redemptive work of God in Jesus Christ. The only appropriate response which man could or should make was trust and faith in God. Hence, central to all of Protestantism (as in fact to all of Christian belief) are the realities and experiences signified by such terms as atonement and justification by faith.

The Grace of God. The reality of the experience of God's grace was vivid to the early Anabaptist. In the extant records and statements of those who died as martyrs are found many expressions of the power and joy experienced through the grace of God.

My soul rejoices in God, who has given and imparted to me much knowledge, that I may escape an eternal, unending death. I praise thee, therefore, Jesus, Lord of heaven, that thou avertest my sorrows and afflictions; thou whom God sent to me as a savior, an example, and a light, who has called me in time to his heavenly kingdom, that I may be made partaker with him of everlasting joy; and love him, together with his righteousness .... (Felix Manz, 1526)[1]

O God! I entreat thee for thy grace, that thou wilt not impute to me my sins; since Christ made satisfaction for them before I was born. I was thy enemy, and thou lovedst me, accepted me in grace, and hast given, for my redemption, the innocent blood of thy beloved Son, although I am frequently tempted by the besetting sins of the flesh .... Thou art my consolation; for since I believe from my heart, I cannot be damned. (Hans Schlaefer, 1528)[2]

God is rich in mercies, abundant in grace, and freely forgives the sinner who forsakes his sins, who believes in Christ, and calls upon his name; God will not only out of grace speak him free from sin, but will spontaneously bestow upon him the everlasting reward. (Vilgard and Kasper von Schoeneck, 1528)[3]

O God, our heavenly Father! come with the power of thy Holy Spirit, and rejoice our hearts, gladden our souls, and animate our minds to contend and overcome in this our anguish and distress. Protect us with thy right hand; for thou art our strength; fight for us in the combat, and watch over us in distress, that we may stand firm in the fight, and not give way in the heat of the battle. (Hans Langenmantel, 1529)[4]

Such expressions of the joy in the experience of the grace of God in spite of the great suffering are commonplaces in the records of the martyrs, leaders and laymen alike. It is of course not to be supposed that such grace was only experienced in the face of martyrdom. This is rather the grace familiar to all true Christians—the knowledge of being reconciled to God—the very Gospel.

Though I confess that we men, by the disobedience of Adam, lost this sonship rich in grace, this honour and heirship, nevertheless in thee as my most gracious Father I set all my comfort, hope and trust, and know surely and certainly that this fall will not be to me injurious or bring condemnation.[5]

According to Hubmaier God makes possible this knowledge, hope and trust through calling or drawing men

In two ways, inwardly and outwardly. The outward drawing takes place by the public proclamation of his holy gospel, which Christ commanded to be preached to every creature, and is now made known everywhere. The inward drawing is wrought by God, who enlightens the soul within, so that it understands the undeniable truth, and is so thoroughly convinced by the Spirit and the preached word, as to confess from the conscience that these things must be so, and cannot be otherwise.[6]

[1] van Bracht, *The Bloody Theater, or Martyrs' Mirror,* (Lancaster, Pa., 1837), 343.
[2] *Ibid.,* 353.
[3] *Ibid.,* 356.
[4] *Ibid.,* 357.
[5] Vedder, *Balthaser Hübmaier* (N.Y., 1905), 131.
[6] *Ibid.,* 199.

The joy with which the believer thought of the blessings of God was not only a joy of remembrance and present experience of grace. It was the joy born of hope as well. God would vindicate the righteous. The terrible persecutions of His people would not go unpunished nor would martyrdoms go unrewarded.[7]

Yes these [apostate reformers] would defend the beast and those who cleave [to the beast] against the Word of God, and fight vehemently with the lamb. Nevertheless, the Lamb who is a Lord of lords and the King of all kings will conquer them, together with [assisted by] His believers and called ones.[8]

"For yet a little while and he that shall come will come and will not tarry."[9] Although the early Anabaptists were not chiliasts as were some of the later representatives of the movement, their tracts show a deep eschatological consciousness. There are occasional references to the Apocalypse and to Daniel and other writings and in one tract the author forthrightly declares that "The abomination is now becoming evident in the holy place (Daniel 9, 11)."[10] There is no evidence in any of the early tracts, however, of the violent kind of apocalypticism which earlier had characterized Müntzer and later the Münster tragedy, nor is the note of prophecy or new revelations to be found.[11] The eschatological note and the later chiliasm seems to have grown out of the hope for deliverance from the intense persecution combined with intensive studies in the Bible,[12] in certain books of which eschatology is strong.

It is interesting to note that the eschatological hope was already beginning to manifest itself to the faithful concretely in history. The *Martyrs' Mirror* faithfully records a number of miracles wrought by God as signs. In one case it was found impossible to burn an Anabaptist, and his executioners were nearly unable to do their task.[13] In other cases those guilty of the innocent blood themselves died violent deaths shortly after at the hand of God.[14] The Anabaptists were convinced that the persecution itself was bringing forth the fruit of many new converts[15] and that if God were not

[7] Ethelbert Stauffer, "Anabaptist Theology of Martyrdom," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (1945), 19:197-204.
[8] J. C. Wenger, "Concerning the Satisfaction of Christ, An Anabaptist Tract on True Christianity," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (1946), 20:253.
[9] Wenger, "Three Swiss Brethren Tracts," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (1947), 21:278.
[10] *Ibid.*, 278.
[11] Friedmann, *Mennonite Piety Through the Centuries* (Goshen, Ind., Mennonite Historical Society, 1949), Ch. 11.
[12] F. H. Littell, *The Anabaptist View of the Church.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation in Sterling Library, Yale University, (1946), 84.
[13] van Bracht, *op. cit.*, 349.
[14] *Ibid.*, 364, 365, 995-98.
[15] H. S. Bender, "The Anabaptist Vision," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (1944), 18:72

protecting them, they would long since have been destroyed in the violent persecution.[16]

In this manner did God oft times, more frequently than can be related in this work, restrain the ungodly with similar examples, by means of which his work might make greater progress among his people, both to his own glory and to the salvation of those who strive for righteousness and newness of life; for if God had not always superintended his work, the enemy would have immediately destroyed it, and not have left a spark of truth remain; but this, God did not permit. John x. 27. Prov. vi. 17. Jer. vii. 6; xxii. 3.[17]

The joy and gratitude to God with which the believer responds to Him in faith and trust is not the end of the matter. The Christian freely and spontaneously desires to express his gratitude through making Christ his Master and Lord and striving to faithfully serve Him and do His will.[18] The martyrs who are experiencing the joy of justification and salvation are quick to say that in response to the love and mercy of God manifested to them their only desire is to become loyal servants of Christ.

But, my brethren, he that wishes to be a true Christian, must put on Christ, and be like him in his poor estate on earth, and endure with equanimity whatever may be his lot in this world. No external appearance of loving Christ and suffering for his name will avail; we must not be ashamed of him who first loved us, and for our sakes submitted to an ignominious death.[19]

It is important to emphasize that this desire to serve Christ and bear whatever such discipleship may bring is not occasioned in any sense by fear or terror of God, but is a direct spontaneous response to God's love and grace. It is filial, not servile, obedience.

Obedience is of two kinds, servile and filial. The filial has its source in the love of the Father, even though no other reward should follow, yea even if the Father should wish to damn His child; the servile has its source in a love of reward or of oneself. The filial ever does as much as possible, apart from any command; the servile does as little as possible, yea nothing except by command. The filial is never able to do enough for Him; but he who renders servile obedience thinks he is constantly doing too much for Him. The filial rejoices in the chastisement of the Father although he may not have transgressed in anything; the servile wishes to be without chastisement although he may do nothing right . . . . The servile looks to the external and to the prescribed command of his Lord; the filial is concerned about the inner witness and the Spirit. The servile is imperfect and therefore his Lord finds no pleasure in him; the filial strives for and attains perfection,

[16] J. C. Wenger, "Martin Weninger's Vindication of Anabaptism, 1535," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (1948), 22:187.
[17] van Bracht, *op. cit.*, 355-6.
[18] H. S. Bender, *Conrad Grebel, c. 1498-1526, Founder of the Swiss Brethren* (Goshen 1950), 206-287.
[19] van Bracht, *op. cit.*, 353.

and for that reason the Father cannot reject him. (Possibly by Michael Sattler, *c.* 1527)[20]

With this deep desire in the heart of the believer to serve God with all of his being, the most important obligation of which he becomes aware is the obligation to find the will of God for him—to learn what it is that God requires and how best to do that which God would have him do. The whole of the Reformation looked to the Bible as the locus of the revelation which God had given to His people, and it is to the Bible that the Anabaptists looked for guidance in understanding and doing what God required of them.

The Scriptures. To date no over-all comprehensive study of the early Anabaptist view of the Scriptures has been made. There is a great body of material available, however, from which certain conclusions can be drawn. That the Anabaptists regarded Scripture as in some sense finally authoritative for the life of the Christian seems evident. In debates with their opponents and with the secular authorities the appeal is nearly always to Scripture and the demand is made that those who are arguing against them give only Scriptural reasons.[21] The debates are always oriented in terms of Scripture, and where any other argument is presented, it is simply not regarded or recognized.[22] This principle was of course not new with the Swiss Brethren; it was the principle which Zwingli himself had made central to his reform.[23]

[20] J. C. Wenger, "Two Kinds of Obedience. An Anabaptist Tract on Christian Freedom," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (1947), 21:20.

[21] Hubmaier: "To have images is either commanded or it is not commanded. If it is commanded, let the Scriptures be produced and at once all strife will be ended. But if it was never commanded that we have them, they are certainly of no use" (Vedder, *op. cit.*, 61). "These, brethren, are my opinions concerning images and the mass, which I have learned from the Holy Scriptures. But if there is any error in them, I pray and beseech you, by Jesus Christ our only saviour, and the day of his last judgment, to condescend to set me right through the Holy Scriptures in a fraternal and Christian manner. I can err, for I am a man, but I cannot be a heretic, for I am willing to be taught better by anybody" (*Ibid.*, 64). In his letter to Müntzer, Grebel said: "We understand . . . you have ordained a new German liturgy. This cannot be good, for we find in the New Testament no teaching about singing" (Bender, *Conrad Grebel, op. cit.*, 175). The Brethren wrote to the Zurich City Council: "If it be found then by divine Scripture that we err, we shall gladly accept correction . . . . We desire nothing upon earth than to have these things decided according to the Word of God" (Horsch, *Mennonites in Europe*, Scottdale, 1942, 53). Sattler at his trial said: "Ye ministers of God, if you have neither heard nor read the Word of God, we would suggest that you send for the most learned men and for the book of the divine Scriptures, and that they with us weigh these things in the light of the Word of God. If they show us from Holy Scripture that we err and are in the wrong, we shall gladly be taught, and recant" (*Ibid.*, 76).

[22] "As to the quotations which you gave outside of Scripture, we have nothing to reply" (Horsch, "Faith of the Swiss Brethren," *M.Q.R.*, 4:261). "We won't have the argument from philosophy; you shall argue by the Gospel!" (Littell, "Anabaptist Doctrine of the Restitution of the True Church," *M.Q.R.*, 24:45).

[23] Zwingli said in the period prior to his controversy with the Anabaptists: "One should not ask the government in such matters, for the civil authorities are not ordained to rule over the Word of God and Christian liberty, but only over things

Though it is evident that the Brethren held the Scriptures to be in some sense finally authoritative in matters of conduct as well as doctrine, it is not too certain in just what sense this was the case. One school of interpreters holds that the early Anabaptists were literalists in their understanding of Scripture, and indeed there seems to be fairly good evidence for this.[24] A careful examination of the quotations cited, however, reveals that the "Word of God" (which is held to be finally authoritative) is seldom, if ever, expressly *identified* with the written word of Scripture. Rather, it is held to be *found in* the Scripture. It is thus possible to interpret the Anabaptist understanding of Scripture as the *locus* of the Word of God while not itself being the Word of God. For example, consider the following passages:

> In order that we may be delivered from this tribulation we beg your wisdom to permit the divine Word to prevail and be the judge in these matters. For we desire to hold fast to the clear, plain, unadulterated Word of God without any human suppositions and opinions. For what is not *contained in* the divine Scripture, we do not desire by any means.
>
> Gracious, well-affected lords, we beg your wisdom to permit and arrange for a public discussion to which any one desiring to do so may come to be instructed from divine Scripture. (Swiss Brethren to Zurich city council, 1525)[25]
>
> Let no one cause you depart from the standard that is *laid through* the letter of Scripture which is sealed by the blood of Christ and of many witnesses of Jesus. (Sattler, 1527)[26]
>
> For all things that are grounded in the Word of God we will stake and pledge our lives, honor and possessions. We beg you gracious lords, to permit a debate, granting safe conduct to one or two of our men, . . . who, as our representatives, shall set forth all the pertinent scriptures, that every one may be able to decide whether our position is right or wrong. We desire nothing upon earth than to have these things decided according to the Word of God. We hope and believe that through the Word of God the truth will be clearly and plainly set forth . . . .[27]

It must of course be admitted that a straightforward reading of such passages as these would seem to indicate that the Word of God and Scripture are identical, and it is in fact true that in many cases the Brethren seemed to use the two terms interchangeably. There are, however, certain very important historical difficulties

that are of a secular nature, as I have abundantly shown above . . ." (Quoted from *Zwinglis Werke,* Vol. II, 514f., in Horsch, "Faith of the Swiss Brethren," *op. cit.,* 4:255). And again: "Whenever the civil authorities command that which is contrary to the divine truth, or forbid that which is in accordance with it, they who believe the word of God must suffer death rather than yield. If they fail to do this, they are not followers of Christ" (*Ibid.,* 503).

[24] See Horsch, "The Faith of the Swiss Brethren," *op. cit.,* 4:254-66.

[25] *Ibid.,* 259-60 (italics mine).

[26] *Ibid.,* 260 (italics mine).

[27] *Ibid.,* 260.

which must be dealt with more satisfactorily if it is to be maintained that the Brethren were simply Biblical literalists; so it is important to keep in mind the fact that in very few passages can one say for certain that the Word of God is apparently identified with the word of Scripture by the early Anabaptists. One such passage is by Hubmaier (1527): "Thou knowest, Zwingli, that the Holy Scripture is such a complete, compacted, true, infallible, eternally immortal speech, that the least letter or tittle of it cannot pass away."[28] Several such passages are also to be found in Pilgram Marpeck's writings, but it must be recognized that they come from a period nearly twenty years after the founding of the Swiss Brethren church. He says for example:

> We say again that there are not two but only one word of God: and the word of divine, evangelical preaching (which Schwenckfeld calls the word of the letter) is truly the word of the Holy Spirit and of God, for the Holy Spirit, who is God, has spoken through and out of the heart and mouth of the Apostles.
>
> The external word which is preached, or the word which the Apostles proclaimed, is the Word of God (I Thess. 2:13).[29]

Apparently Marpeck's position closely approximated that which Hubmaier had enunciated in the earlier period. According to the testimony of Schwenckfeld and Sebastian Franck (both contemporaries of the Anabaptists) such a position on the Scriptures was quite representative. Franck wrote in 1530:

> There arose from the letter of Scripture, independently of the state churches, a new sect which was called Anabaptists . . . . By the good appearance of their sect and their appeal to the letter of Scripture, to which they strictly adhered, they drew to themselves many thousand God-fearing hearts who had a zeal for God.[30]

On the other hand, besides the fact that there are so few definite and explicit statements regarding the relationship of the Word of God to Scripture from the early Anabaptists, there are at least two known facts which make it difficult to hold that the Brethren were in the main simply literalists. One is their attitude toward the Old Testament; the other is the apparent connection and willingness to fellowship with avowed non-literalists such as Hans Denck.

There is no dearth of source material regarding the attitude of the Brethren toward the Old Testament. In general, their at-

[28] Vedder, *op. cit.*, 180.
[29] Horsch, "Faith of the Swiss Brethren," *op. cit.*, 5:18. See also Wenger, "Theology of Pilgram Marpeck," *M.Q.R.*, 12:233-34.
[30] Horsch, *Mennonites in Europe, op. cit.*, 350. Schwenckfeld discussed, 135.

titude can be understood in the light of Christ's setting His own word in the Sermon on the Mount over against that found in the Jewish law. His suggestion that certain of the features of the law were given because of the "hardness" of men's hearts is also central to the early Anabaptist understanding. An early Anabaptist statement said: "Truly believing Christians use neither the worldly sword nor war, seeing that we are not any more under the Old Law."[31] In 1527 Sattler (?) in connection with a discussion of the question of divorce stated:

> . . . for when Christ in Matthew 5 often saith, "But I say unto you," he thereby annuls the Law insofar as it is grasped legalistically and not spiritually, Ephesians 2, Romans 10. As He is also the perfection of the Law, therefore He is the Mediator of a better Testament which hath been established upon better promises, Hebrews 8.[32]

Hans Pfistermeyer, an Anabaptist minister, said in 1531:

> The New Testament is more perfect than the Old, and the Old was fulfilled and interpreted by Christ. Christ has taught a higher and more perfect doctrine and made with His people a New Covenant. Therefore, whatever is found in Christ's doctrine and life, I shall recognize as binding for the Christian, and whatever is found otherwise, I shall not so recognize. For I believe that Jesus Christ is the Word of the heavenly Father and has sufficiently taught and declared the will of the Father. I make a great difference between the Old and New Testament and believe that the New Covenant, which was made with us, is much more perfect than the Old that was made with the Jews.[33]

Such passages are typical. There seems to be no disposition among the early Anabaptists to put the Old and New Testaments on the same level at all. The Old Testament is understood as a forerunner to the New, but since the ministry of Christ the New is normative for the people of God, and in so far as the Old disagrees with the New the latter is to be followed and the former considered as abrogated. Such a position as this is obviously not compatible with a completely literalistic understanding of the obligatory character on the Christian of the *whole* of Scripture. And in fact the early Anabaptists did not assert that the Old Testament was binding on them in the same sense that the New Testament was. In other words, a criterion was introduced by means of which the

[31] Horsch, "Faith of the Swiss Brethren," *op. cit.*, 5:22.

[32] J. C. Wenger, "Concerning Divorce, A Swiss Brethren Tract on the Primacy of Loyalty to Christ and the Right to Divorce and Remarriage," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (1947), 21:116-17.

[33] *Ibid.*, 22. See pp. 20-24 for other quotations. The tract on "Two Kinds of Obedience" (1527), quoted from on pp. 20-22, XXI, has an extensive section contrasting the Old Testament with the New, and relating servile obedience to the former, filial to the latter.

relative validity of the various portions of Scripture could be maintained. That criterion was, in the words of Pfistermeyer, "Christ's doctrine and life," and by it all Scripture was to be interpreted and all life and action judged.[34] Such a position as this is a good deal different from simple legalistic literalism. The fact that Pfistermeyer identifies the Word of God explicitly with Christ, rather than with the word of Scripture, would also point away from a literalistic understanding. It is of course to be emphasized that such a non-literalism is not a non-Biblicism, for the Word of God, i.e., Jesus Christ, can be encountered only in the context of Scripture. Further, it must be recognized that the words of Jesus are always regarded as the Word of God and must be obeyed in every detail.[35] Thus, this interpretation is not at all a position which follows a simple "leading of the Spirit." *"The Spirit can be present only where He can also become flesh.* Not the Logos, but Christ is the leader. One might call this a 'concrete Biblical spiritualism.' "[36]

A second historical difficulty which must be met if the early Anabaptists are regarded as strict Biblical literalists is the prominence which men like Hans Denck achieved in early Anabaptist circles. Denck's view definitely did not identify the Word of God with the Scripture:

> I esteem the Holy Scriptures above all human treasure: yet not so much as I do the Word of God which is living, potent, eternal, free and independent of all elements of this world: for as it is God Himself, it is Spirit and not letter, written without pen or paper so that it can never be blotted out. Therefore salvation is not bound up with the Scriptures, however good and useful they may be for that purpose. The reason is this. It is not possible for the Scriptures to make a bad heart good, though they may convey to it better information. But a good heart illumined with the light of God (a heart with a Divine spark in it) is improved by everything.[37]

[34] In the debate of Zofingen (1532) the Brethren said: "We say that the Old [Testament] is the shadow, and *that which is in unison with the words of Christ is light.*" In the discussion at Bern (1538) they said: "We confess that the Old Testament is a witness of Christ. We accept it *in so far as Christ has not abolished it* and as it is in agreement with the New. . . ." In the Frankenthal debate (1571) they said: "We believe that the New Testament surpasses the Old. So much of the Old Testament *as is not irreconcilable with the doctrine of Christ,* we accept." It is significant to note that Menno Simons held a similar position: "All Scripture must be interpreted according to the spirit, teaching, walk, and example of Christ and the Apostles." (All quotations from Horsch, *Mennonites in Europe, op. cit.,* 355-6. Italics mine.)

[35] For example, in the tract on divorce (c. 1527) it is said: "He does away with the old divorcing, no longer permitting hardness of heart to be a valid occasion for divorce but renewing the regulation of His Father, saying, 'It hath not been so from the beginning, when God ordained that man and wife should be one; and what God hath joined together man shall not separate.' Therefore one may not separate for trifling reasons, or for wrath, that is, hardness of heart, nor for displeasure, aversion, faith or unbelief, but alone for fornication" (Wenger, "Concerning Divorce," *op. cit.,* 117).

[36] R. Friedmann, *Mennonite Piety Through the Centuries, op. cit.,* 82.

[37] Alfred Coutts, *Hans Denck* (Edinburgh, 1927), 96.

Denck was so convinced of his position that in debating with representatives of the state churches he at times refused to accept proof from Scripture as conclusive,[38] and in collaboration with Hetzer and Kautz (of Worms) was prepared to debate as one of seven theses the proposition that "The external word (the Scriptures) is not the true, living or eternally abiding Word of God, but only the testimony or indication of the inner to satisfy the demand for external things."[39] Some of the Swiss radicals, too, held that the true church was to be gathered in spirit and in truth, "and shall not be bound, as Israel, by proof-texts and ceremonies."[40]

While there is no evidence that such a free understanding of the Scriptures was characteristic of the early Anabaptists, it is difficult to understand how a man who took such a position as this could achieve sufficient prominence in the movement to chair an important conference of early Anabaptist leaders, if those leaders were in the main rigidly legalistic and literalistic in their understanding of and interpretation of Scripture. It would seem that such a man would be repudiated, if anything, more vigorously than even the representatives of state-church Protestantism. Further, it is even more difficult to understand how a man like Denck who was prone to interpret Scripture so freely, would have any desire at all to associate himself with the Anabaptists at any time, if they were even more literalistic than the rest of Protestantism. Yet Denck did become an Anabaptist and in fact a leader of the movement for a time (although he does seem to have later regretted some of his activities in connection with the Anabaptists).[41]

In summary of the above we find: (1) Nearly all references from the early Anabaptists can be interpreted as not exactly identifying the authoritative Word of God with the literal word of Scripture. There are practically no early explicit identifications of the Word of God with Scripture. (2) The attitude of the early Anabaptists toward the Old Testament indicates that all Scripture is to be understood in the light of the life and teachings of Christ, who may in fact be regarded as the Word of God. (3) Men who explicitly distinguished the authoritative Word of God from the

[38] *Ibid.*, 62.

[39] F. L. Weis, *The Life, Teachings and Works of Ludwig Hetzer.* (Dorchester, Mass., 1930), 149.

[40] Littell, *Anabaptist View of the Church, op. cit.*, 84.

[41] See discussion of Denck in C. Henry Smith, *Story of the Mennonites,* (Berne, 1941), 41, 43, 44. For a discussion of the position I am opposing, namely, that Denck and the early Anabaptists were at opposite poles as regards the authority of Scripture, see Horsch, *Mennonites in Europe, op. cit.*, 156-59, 350-56.

written word of Scripture recognized and accepted and were recognized by and accepted by the early Anabaptists as belonging to the same fellowship. In view of these facts it seems necessary to maintain that the early Anabaptists in general did not simply identify the word of Scripture with the Word of God, but rather maintained that the latter can be found only in the context of Scripture. They did take the words of Jesus as literal God-given commands, however, which were binding upon the Christian and which, together with his life, must be made central to any adequate understanding of and ascertaining of the Word of God in the rest of Scripture. (In passing, it perhaps should be noted that there is no evidence among the early writers of anything approaching the new revelations, prophetism, et cetera of a man like Melchior Hofmann.)

Scriptural Perfection. In consequence of and out of gratitude for their experience of God's grace, the early Anabaptists sought to express their joy and gratitude through striving to meet the standards of the Christian life as they understood them to be laid down by precept in the teachings of Jesus (and the apostles) and by example in His life, both of course to be discovered in the New Testament. Thus the Scripture (and particularly the New Testament) was authoritative for the Anabaptists, not only in the sense that in it was the Gospel to be found, but it was also regarded as containing God's plan for the righteous man and community. It was thus viewed in a real sense as the only guide to faith and life.

This meant that the Anabaptists were committed to trying to realize in their lives the New Testament ethic of perfection.

> God our Heavenly Father demands of the whole world which has sinned that it forsake sin and henceforth sin no more. Then he will not condemn it, as Christ indicates to us. The Father demands also that we recognize Christ's teaching which was sent to us from the Father and given to us in paternal faithfulness. Now he who hears this teaching and these words, and does them, praises God, because he is a wise man who builds his house upon the rock; he can therefore be secure in the face of pelting rain and wind, for he builds upon the Word of God. Now there is no other rock indicated before God upon which one may build except this one only (Matt. 9; Psa. 1; Matt. 7; Jer. 17; Psa. 118; Matt. 21; Mark 12).
>
> O dearly-beloved brethren and sisters in the Christian meeting: Let us note well what the first plank is of this house, as Christ teaches us, "Desist from sin." . . . Except we are born anew we cannot see the Kingdom of God. (John 3) There is no other birth, for whoever hears the Word of God and receives it into his heart, all which the Word teaches in his heart he is willing to do according to the will of God (I Pet. 4). If he does this, no longer doing the will of the world but the will of God, he is a true child of God; he is also truly born again. But he who hears the Word and refuses to do

what the Word teaches . . . can never be born anew until he hears the Word in his heart and obeys it, as Christ has taught us. (1527)[42]

The peoples who read this booklet will evidently say, Who can keep such things as are written in this booklet? They say, or will say, It is too strict. O Almighty, Eternal God: Grant to all those who read or hear this, Thy strength through Jesus Christ that it may become easy for them in their hearts, because it is Thy divine teaching and commandment—as Christ the true Son of God teaches that His commandment is not grievous. (1527)[43]

They [the clergy of the state church] teach contrary to Paul that one cannot be free of sin and live in righteousness: "One must sin to the grave; no one can keep the commandments of God" (I John 3, 5) which is not true. The apostle of God testifies, Christ bore our sins on His back that we might be without sin and live in righteousness . . . . How would He have delivered us from the power and imprisonment of the devil if we lived in sin to the devil and had not received power, grace for grace, to oppose the devil by the firm faith of Christ? We who seek to be justified through Him, if we yet lived in sin, what would we have from Christ? (Gal. 2). For He broke the bond and led captivity captive and gave gifts to the people, and we are released (Psalm 124, II Tim. 2, Eph. 4). Sinners will not stand in the judgment of God . . . .[44]

That the Anabaptists thought that they were obligated as Christians to try to live sinless lives seems clear. It was also clear to them that the Christian life was to be one of suffering and pain. This insight was central for the Swiss Brethren even before the terrible persecutions began.[45] The world was not willing to let one live in peace who humbly tried to live a Christian life. But the true Christian must be willing to face all suffering and continue to try to follow and obey Christ. "It cannot in truth be otherwise, than that judgment must begin at the house of God." (1528)[46]

Because of the fact that sinlessness was the goal of the early Anabaptists their enemies held that they claimed that they were in fact sinless. In the very earliest period Zwingli accused Manz of such a belief, but Manz would not admit the charge.[47] The Brethren constantly denied any such belief.[48] Many who were called into

[42] Wenger, "Two Early Anabaptist Tracts," *op. cit.*, 37, 39.
[43] *Ibid.*, 42.
[44] J. C. Wenger, "Martin Weninger's Vindication of Anabaptism, 1535," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (1948), 22:183-4.
[42] Wenger, "Two Early Anabaptist Tracts," *M.Q.R.*, 22:37, 39.
[46] van Bracht, *op. cit.*, 353.
[47] Horsch, "Faith of the Swiss Brethren," *op. cit.*, 5:131.
[48] "For some time a report has been spread that some of us teach that one may live without sin, and also that we boast of living without sin. . . . Thus I am being slandered" (Hottinger, 1525. *Ibid.*, 131-2). "Again, likewise I have never said that I am without sin, or that I never could sin, but always and everywhere have I confessed that I am a poor sinner, conceived and born in sin, and shall always remain a sinner till death" (Hubmaier, 1526. Vedder, *op. cit.*, 139). "If I during my life have injured any of you, forgive me. I am a man and have alas! more often than is right, fallen; often, when I contended for the victory, I was weak enough to yield to temptation. . . . Well I know that I am unworthy of life. I am undeserving of his mercy. Too much have I offended thy mercy, O my God" (Hetzer, 1529. Weis, *op. cit.*, 181).

court for abstaining from the communion services of the state church, stated that they could not participate because they were not worthy.[49] The very fact that their tracts and confessions are so full of exhortation to avoid sinning is an indication of how conscious they were of their own frailty. Martin Weninger's statement in 1532 is typical:

> In me there is nothing good, I am unable of myself even to think anything that is good, but am as others, flesh and blood and subject to temptation. But that I should let these reign, I answer, No. Therefore God must give me grace to overcome.[50]

The early Anabaptists were conscious of the responsibilities they took upon themselves to remove the sinfulness in their own lives, when they prayed, "Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors."[51] The goal, then, toward which the Christian must strive, and which is plainly taught in the Scriptures, is moral perfection. While it is true that Christians never reach this goal, yet their efforts must constantly be directed toward it.[52]

Regeneration. It should not be thought that the early Anabaptists thought that they of themselves were able to move toward sinlessness in their lives and eventually perhaps to lead the life of perfection. Rather it was their unanimous testimony that they could do nothing good unless God gave them the strength so to do. They never lost sight of the Christian insight into the paradoxical relationship between the ultimate source of the desire and the power to do good, i.e., God, and the need of each believer to sincerely and responsibly strive toward the good.[53] George Blaurock and Hans von der Reve left the following statement at their martyrdom (1529):

> Lord God! I will praise thee all my days, since thou hast given me the faith by which I have learned to know thee . . . . Hadst thou not, O Lord! appeared unto me with the word of thy divine grace at the time that I experienced the heavy load of sins, which filled me with great anguish, I should have had to sink, and suffer everlasting pain . . . . Hence I cry unto thee, help me, O Father, that I may be thy child and heir; O Lord! strengthen my faith, otherwise my building will fall; forget me not, O Lord! but be with me always; may thy Holy Spirit protect and instruct me, that I may be consoled in all my sufferings, and fight valiantly in this contest, till I obtain the victory. The enemy fought with me where I now am; he

[49] Littell, "Anabaptist Doctrine of the Restitution of the Church," *op. cit.*, 46.
[50] Horsch, "Faith of the Swiss Brethren," *op. cit.*, 5:132.
[51] Wenger, "Two Early Anabaptist Tracts," *op. cit.*, 41.
[52] For further discussion of the early Anabaptist attitude toward perfection, see Horsch, "Faith of the Swiss Brethren," *op. cit.*, 5:131-35.
[53] Smucker, "The Theological Triumph of the Early Anabaptist Mennonites," *M.Q.R.*, 19:12-14.

would fain have driven me from the field, but thou, Lord, hast given me the victory . . . .[54]

Such appeals for strength through God were typical of the martyrs. In an early sermon (*c.* 1527) appears the following:

Because of the faithful Father's will in heaven, who loved us so dearly, we find resistance through Christ, and we cry to our heavenly Father, as Christ teaches us, that He may hear us and send us strength to overcome this combat . . . .[55]

Thus, though the early Anabaptists were very conscious of the responsibility of the Christian to direct all of his efforts toward leading a better life with the Scriptural goal of sinlessness and perfection their goal, they never forgot that it was by the grace of God that they even desired to improve their lives and it was only through the power of God that they were able to so improve. The Anabaptists acknowledged with Luther the impotence of man to do anything good of himself. They too had felt their own unworthiness in the light of God's goodness and mercy and grace. And they too desired above all else to express their gratitude to God for His mercy through doing their utmost to do His will. That will they understood to be laid down in the ethic of perfection in the New Testament. They were greatly disappointed that Luther and the other leading reformers did not also understand that ethic as the will of God for the Christian.[56] This disappointment, however, did not cause them to give up their own understanding, for they were convinced from the power of God which they experienced that God gave His power to those who sought to do His will and helped them to achieve a level of moral living which the others deemed impossible. The careful balance of the paradoxical relationship between grace and faith and works which the Anabaptists managed to achieve in their thinking is nicely summarized in a prayer and benediction at the end of an early tract (*c.* 1527):

Almighty, Eternal God: we entreat Thee to give strength to all who hear Thy Word that they may do what Thy Word teaches them. To those who truly hear, and who repent of all their sins, do Thou give Holy Spirit power that they may resist sin until their final end. This we also entreat of Christ the Son, that He may pray the Father for us that this may be imparted to us. O Almighty, Eternal God: That which we have not yet heard from Jesus Christ, and not done, do Thou grant unto us, and to all

[54] van Bracht, *op. cit.*, 358.
[55] Wenger, "Two Early Anabaptist Tracts," *op. cit.*, 38.
[56] See Horsch, "Faith of the Swiss Brethren," *op. cit.*, 5:249; J. C. Wenger, "Concerning the Satisfaction of Christ, An Anabaptist Tract on True Christianity," *op. cit.*, 247-54; "Martin Weninger's Vindication of Anabaptism, 1535," *op. cit.*, 182-87; Littell, *Anabaptist View of the Church, op. cit.*, 45f., 137, 154-56.

who crave it with the whole heart, to hear and to do. God, the Heavenly Father, grant you this through His Son Jesus Christ our Lord and through the power of His Holy Spirit—and may He be with us from now on, from eternity to eternity, Amen. Amen. Let this be true.[57]

III. The Fruit of God's Redemption: The Christian Life

The Christian, having experienced the grace and mercy of God and the regenerative power of the Holy Spirit in his moral life, sets himself to lead the life of perfection as the Scriptures require. He is one who

> Having been converted through God's Word and having changed his heart now henceforth desires to live in newness of life, as Paul clearly shows in the Epistle to the Romans . . . dead to the old life, circumcised in his heart, having died to sin with Christ, having been buried with Him in baptism and arisen with Him again in newness of life . . . .[58]

The discipleship which the Anabaptists proclaimed was quite simple but utterly thoroughgoing. It involved bringing the whole of life, both social and personal, under the Lordship of Christ. All human relationships and situations were to be subjected to criticism in the light of the teachings and life of Christ.[59] Nor was this simply to be a formal criticism which made no real differences. Aspects of human relations which did not come up to the standard were to be utterly revised.

Nonresistance and Love. Concretely, this meant a number of things. From the point of view of social ethics, it meant a new community to be organized as a Christian society with stewardship and mutual aid the key economic concepts and brotherhood and mutual concern the central political principles. For the individual disciple it meant an ethic of love and nonresistance. Nonresistance appears to have been one of the earliest emphases among the Swiss Brethren. As early as 1522 Andreas Castelberg was investigated in regard to his teaching about war in his "Bible school." The report of the investigation states:

> Andreas said much about war; how the divine teaching is so strong against it and how it is sin; and he expressed the idea that the soldier who had plenty at home in his fatherly inheritance and goods and yet went to war, and received money and pay to kill innocent persons and to take their possessions from people who had never done him any harm, such a soldier was before Almighty God, and according to the content of Gospel teaching, a murderer and not better than one who would murder and steal on account of his poverty, regardless of the fact that this might not be so according to human laws, and might not be counted so bad.[60]

[57] Wenger, "Two Early Anabaptist Tracts," *op. cit.*, 42.
[58] Bender, *Conrad Grebel, op. cit.*, 288.
[59] Bender, "The Anabaptist Theology of Discipleship," *M.Q.R.* XXIV:29.
[60] Bender, *Conrad Grebel, op. cit.*, 200.

In the 1524 letter from Grebel to Müntzer the position is also clearly enunciated:

> Moreover, the Gospel and its adherents are not to be protected by the sword, nor are they thus to protect themselves . . . . True Christian believers are sheep among wolves, sheep for the slaughter; they must be baptized in anguish and affliction, tribulation, persecution, suffering and death; they must be tried with fire and must reach the fatherland of eternal rest, not by killing their bodily, but by mortifying their spiritual enemies. Neither do they use worldly sword or war, since all killing has ceased with them . . . . If thou art willing to defend war, . . . then I admonish thee by the common salvation of us all that thou wilt cease therefrom . . . .[61]

Felix Manz said: "No Christian smites with the sword nor resists evil."[62] The first Anabaptist confession of faith, the Schleitheim Articles of 1527, said after discussing some of the evils of the world:

> Therefore there will also unquestionably fall from us the unchristian, devilish weapons of force—such as sword, armor and the like, and all their use [either] for friends or against one's enemies—by virtue of the word of Christ, Resist not [him that is] evil.[63]

Jacob Hutter wrote in a letter to the Moravian authorities in 1535:

> We will not do a wrong or an injury to any man, yea, not to our greatest enemy, neither to Ferdinandus (King of Austria) nor any one else, great or small. All our actions and conduct, word and work, life and walk, are open; there is no secret about it all. Rather than knowingly rob a man of a penny we would willingly give up a hundred gilders. And before we would give our greatest enemy a blow with the hand to say nothing of spear, sword or halberd as is the manner of the world, we would be willing to lose our lives.
>
> As every one sees and knows, we have no weapons of defense, such as spears or guns. In short, in our preaching and speaking and our whole walk of life our object is to live in peace and unity according to the truth and will of God, as the true followers of Christ.[64]

Such statements were very typical among the early Anabaptists. (Hubmaier seems to have been the only prominent early leader to have rejected nonresistance.)[65] It is notable that nonresistance was not to be confined merely to action within the community of Christian believers, but was also to be the proper Christian attitude toward all evildoers. It would have been possible upon occasion for the leaders of the Brethren who were preaching to great crowds illegally during the early period of the movement to rouse the people, probably successfully due to their great numbers, to revolu-

[61] W. Rauschenbusch, "The Zurich Anabaptists and Thomas Münzer," *American Journal of Theology* (1905), 95, 97, 98.
[62] Horsch, *Mennonites in Europe, op. cit.*, 359.
[63] Wenger, *Doctrines of the Menonites,* (Scottdale, 1950), 71.
[64] Horsch, *Mennonites in Europe, op. cit.*, 362.
[65] Vedder, *op. cit.*, 277-310; Smith, *op. cit.*, 62, 63.

tionary action against the civil officials who tried to interfere with and break up the meetings.[66] No such actions occurred, however. The Anabaptists rather permitted themselves to be imprisoned than to lead civil uprisings. This attitude of nonresistance to enemies also manifests itself in the statements of the martyrs just prior to their martyrdoms forgiving their enemies:

> The scriptures testify clearly, that those that laugh and rejoice here, shall in the end mourn and weep; we must suffer here in patience; the Lord grant that it be done without guile. Whosoever bringeth his gift to the altar here, and remembereth that his brother hath ought against him, must leave his gift at the altar, and go, and be first reconciled to his brother, and then come and offer his gift. I entreat thee, therefore, O God! that thou wilt in mercy forgive those who put me to death.[67]
> I earnestly entreat thee, O Lord! in behalf of all our enemies, however numerous; O Lord! lay not their sins to their charge; I desire this according to thy holy will.[68]

The Anabaptist ethic of nonresistance was not simply a literalistic understanding of the words of Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount. While this was certainly a factor, more central seems to have been the idea of

> "yieldedness," signifying an inner surrender and conquest of one's self. *Wir Müssen in Christus still halten* is a phrase which is met time and again in Anabaptist tracts. It does not mean resignation and quietism (so well known from mystical tracts) but is part and parcel of Anabaptist activity. *Gelassenheit* is the first step to true brotherhood, the overcoming of selfishness.[69]

God brings good out of evil through suffering, hence nonresistance to evil is the "true discipline and test" of faith. ". . . we must let ourselves be despised, persecuted and killed. . . . A genuine soldier of Christ must have true resignation, and must mortify his own life."[70] In addition to following Sermon on the Mount ethics literally, then, the almost ascetic value of the suffering church was

[66] Bender, *Conrad Grebel, op. cit.,* 152-3.
[67] van Bracht, *op. cit.,* 354.
[68] *Ibid.,* 358. Such statements are typical. It is interesting to note, however, that the Anabaptists thought that Christians ought to know better than to martyr fellow Christians. Michael Sattler said just before his martyrdom: "If the Turks should make an invasion, they should not be resisted; for it is written: Thou shalt not kill. We ought not to defend ourselves against the Turks and our persecutors; but earnestly entreat God in our prayers that he would not repel and withstand them. For my saying, that if I approved of war, I would rather march forth against the so named Christians who persecute, imprison, and put to death the pious Christians, I assign this reason: The Turk is a true Turk, knows nothing of the Christian faith, and is a Turk according to the flesh; but you, wishing to be Christians, and making your boast of Christ, persecute the pious witnesses of Christ, and are Turks according to the spirit" (*Ibid.,* 345).
[69] Friedmann, "Anabaptism and Protestantism," *M.Q.R.,* 24:22.
[70] R. Friedmann, "Concerning the True Soldier of Christ," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (1931), 5:91.

emphasized.[71] True discipleship involved resignation and nonresistance no matter how much suffering or even martyrdom was brought to the disciple in consequence.[72] If one is to accept the grace of God in Christ as a gift, one must also come to know Christ as the suffering Christ,[73] and this knowledge causes the true disciple to forsake all for Him and to desire to follow Him through suffering.

Faith and Works. All of this implies that for the early Anabaptists (as Hubmaier put it, 1528)

> Faith alone is not enough for salvation. We must prove faith with works of love toward God and our neighbour . . . . Since mere faith does not suffice for salvation, good works must also be added to it . . . . Whoso permits his faith to stand by itself and does not prove it by good works, he changes Christian liberty into liberty of the flesh.[74]

This is not to be interpreted to mean that the Anabaptists believed in salvation by "works-righteousness," for this they condemned just as roundly as they did a faith that did not issue in works.[75] The Anabaptist point was simply that *true* faith always issues in works, or else it is not true faith.

> And therefore just as one speaks of justification through Christ so must one also speak of faith, [namely] that repentance is not apart from works, yea not apart from love (which is an unction), for only such an anointed faith as one receives from the resurrection from the dead is Christian faith, and is reckoned for righteousness, Romans 4. Again, one must not speak of works after the manner of works-saints, [namely,] works of the Law, but [one] must preach works of faith, that is a turning back from works, possessions, and yourself, through faith in Christ the crucified;—not as though a man could do this of himself but as he is able to do through the strength of faith, so that these are not of men but of God, inasmuch as the will and the ability to turn back to God are not of man but the gift of God through Jesus Christ our Lord . . . . For although He is truly a reconciliation for the whole world, that does no one any good except those who recognize and accept Him by faith. And those who [accept Him] keep the commandments of Christ. But he who does not [keep the commandments] and yet boasts of Christ as being his reconciliation is a liar, inasmuch as he has never known Christ.[76]

Moral Character of the Early Anabaptists. That the early Anabaptists were successful in attaining the very highest of moral standards in their living is an attestation to the determination they

[71] Bender, *Conrad Grebel, op. cit.*, 179, 202.
[72] Friedmann, *Mennonite Piety Through the Centuries, op. cit.*, 73-77; Ethelbert Stauffer, "The Anabaptist Theology of Martyrdom," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (1945), 205-14.
[73] R. Friedmann, "Concerning the True Soldier of Christ," *op. cit.*, 92-94.
[74] Vedder, *op. cit.*, 230-31.
[75] See Wenger, "Concerning the Satisfaction of Christ," *op. cit.*, 247-54; "Two Kinds of Obedience," *op. cit.*, 20-22; "Martin Weninger's Vindication of Anabaptism, 1535," *op. cit.*, 182-87.
[76] Wenger, "Concerning the Satisfaction of Christ," *op. cit.*, 251-2.

had to actually approach, insofar as possible, the life of perfection. Although their enemies vilified them with all manner of charges of immorality and heresy in tracts against Anabaptism,[77] in their more unguarded moments they made statements which indicated that the condemnatory remarks must have been made dishonestly and only with a view to serving polemical purposes. Kessler, Reformed leader of St. Gall, said,

> Their walk and manner of life was altogether pious, holy and irreproachable. They avoided costly clothing, despised costly food and drink, clothed themselves with coarse cloth, covered their heads with broad felt hats; their walk and conduct was altogether humble.[78]

Even Zwingli, whose reproaches were on occasion most bitter, in his last book against the Anabaptists had to admit that "If you investigate their life and conduct, it seems at the first contact irreproachable, pious, unassuming, attractive, yea, supermundane. Even those who are inclined to be critical will say that their lives are excellent."[79] Bullinger and Capito also described the Anabaptists favorably upon occasion as did Erasmus[80] and in 1532 the preachers of the state churches at Bern admitted in a letter to the Bern city council that "the Anabaptists have a semblance of outward piety to a far greater degree than we and all the churches which unitedly with us confess Christ, and they avoid offensive sins which are very common among us."[81] A contemporary chronicler in Augsburg was very much impressed with the fact that "In their brotherhood there was in evidence the purpose to render each other the greatest possible service on the ground of brotherly love."[82]

The success which the Anabaptists had in disciplining their own lives and in actually approaching to all outward appearances the Scripturally enjoined life of perfection naturally made a great impression on their fellows. Far from being discouraged at the strict requirements of the Swiss Brethren, the people from the very first showed great enthusiasm over the movement and turned to it increasingly.[83] By 1531 Sebastian Franck (a friendly opponent) was writing:

> The Anabaptists spread so rapidly that their teaching soon covered, as it were, the land. They soon gained a large following, and baptized many

[77] Horsch, "An Inquiry into the Truth of Accusations of Fanaticism and Crime against the Early Swiss Brethren," *M.Q.R.*, (1934), VIII:73-89.
[78] Horsch, *Mennonites in Europe, op. cit.*, 83.
[79] *Ibid.*, 294.
[80] H. E. Dosker, *The Dutch Anabaptists.* Phil: Judson Press, 1921, p. 28.
[81] Horsch, *Mennonites in Europe, op. cit.*, 295.
[82] *Ibid.*, 295.
[83] Bender, *Conrad Grebel, op. cit.*, 152-3.

thousands, drawing to themselves many sincere souls who had a zeal for God. For they taught nothing but love, faith, and the need of bearing a cross. They showed themselves humble, patient under much suffering; they brake the bread with one another as an evidence of unity and love. They helped each other faithfully and called each other brothers . . . . They died as martyrs, patiently, and humbly endured all persecution.[84]

There appear to be at least three points in the theological position of the Anabaptists, differentiating them in general from the other Reformation churches, which may in part account for the amazing moral success they had in their own lives and the rapid growth and many conversions they made, in the face of intense persecution. (1) The Anabaptists were optimistic about the power of God to convert and fully change the moral character of a man. They not only believed that such a change could be wrought by God (as did all Christian communions) but they fully expected a new moral life to emerge in the believer (something that the other Protestants—particularly Lutherans—were dubious about and about which the contemporary Catholics seemed to show little concern). Such an intense conviction of course works as a great psychological force itself to enable the realization of the expectation, while the more pessimistic view of Luther and others regarding the possibility of moral conversion, has the negative psychological effect of tending to make such conversion impossible. (2) The Anabaptists had a different understanding of the problem of free will and determinism than did the other Reformation groups. They were convinced that God does not deny man the right to act freely and responsibly in response to His grace. This, too, had important psychological implications. In the responsibility which it puts on the individual believer for his every act, it leads to a far greater concern and striving toward a highly moral life. Conversely, a deterministic emphasis tends to cut the nerve of morality and to destroy the sense of personal responsibility for one's own actions. (3) The Anabaptists held that the Christian church should be a selective community—only those who show a real desire to strive for the life of perfection and give indication that they are making progress were welcomed into the fellowship of the church. Thus their communities naturally showed a higher moral character than did the inclusive non-selective state churches which did not make moral efforts and achievements a condition of membership. In part, then, in consequence of these three distinctive doctrinal emphases, the Anabaptists were able to achieve and maintain what

[84] Horsch, Mennonites in Europe, *op. cit.*, 293.

was to their contemporaries an incredibly high level of moral achievement.

Freedom and Predestination. As might be supposed for their continual exhortation to moral living and their emphasis on the kind of response to God's grace required of man, the early Anabaptists all rejected any and all doctrines of divine predestination or determinism.[85] They well understood that it is very difficult to prevent a doctrine of divine determinism from cutting the nerve of moral responsibility and thus making the striving for moral life irrelevant and impossible.

> Daily we must hear from the leading preachers and from many persons everywhere: "We would gladly do the right, if we had the grace from God . . . ." Many cry out and preach: "He whom God has predestinated to be saved, will be saved, and whoever is predestinated to be lost, will be lost." These two statements are really identical in meaning. Let all men through God and Jesus Christ, His Son, be cautioned that this is great but unrecognized blasphemy against God, of which Christ has faithfully warned us. (Langenmantel, *c.* 1527)[86]
>
> I must yet speak of a great defamation of God, namely the misapplication of the words, "No man comes to the Son except the Father draw him." They apply these words thus: If the Father would draw them, they would forsake sin, but since He does not draw them, they cannot do so. They say that they do not have the grace to abstain from sin. Such falsehoods are verily of Satan who is the father of all lies . . . . Oh, where will the calumniators of God remain who accuse Him in such a way and say that they do not have the grace. (Langenmantel, *c.* 1527)[87]
>
> Whoever maintains that God will have sin, does not know what sin is. If any one says, "If God did not will it, I would not sin," I affirm, on the contrary, that God does not will that we sin . . . . The people have learned only two things, without bettering their lives: the first, in that they say, "We believe, faith saves us;" the second, "By ourselves we can do no good." . . . For as soon as you say to such evangelical people, "It is written, brother, 'Cease from evil and do good,' " he immediately answers, "It is written, 'We cannot do anything good.' All things take place by the destiny of God and of necessity." They mean by this that it is permitted them to sin. If you say further, "It is written, 'Those that do evil shall go into eternal fire,' " straightway a girdle of fig-leaves is found to cover their crime, and they say, "It is written, 'Faith alone saves, and not our works.' " (Hubmaier, *c.* 1527)[88]

The moral consequences of a doctrine of predestination were not the only objections to the doctrine which the early Anabaptists had. They were also concerned about the implications which such a view had for the nature of God. This is a particular problem of course for "double" predestination, but is an implicit problem in any predestinarian doctrine.

[85] Horsch, "The Faith of the Swiss Brethren," *op. cit.*, 5:140.
[86] *Ibid.*, 144.
[87] *Ibid.*, 144.
[88] Vedder, *op. cit.*, 189-90.

Only a foolish king could place a goal before his subjects and then say, "Now run that you may get there," when he already knows beforehand that they are bound in iron and that they cannot run. It were certainly a cunning God, who invites all men to the supper, and really offers his mercy to every one, if he after all did not wish the invited to come. It were a false God who should say in words, "Come here," and yet in secret in his heart should think, "Sit yonder." It would be an unfaithful God who should publicly offer grace to man, and should clothe him in new raiment, yet in secret take it away from him and prepare hell for him. Cursed be he who maintains that God has commanded us impossible things, for everything that is impossible to our strength is possible by the word which God has sent . . . . Whoever denies the freedom of the human will, denies and rejects more than half of the Holy Scriptures. (Hubmaier, *c.* 1527)[89]

All things do not come to pass of necessity . . . . He who denies the free will of men and calls it an empty claim, is nothing in himself, nicknames God a tyrant, charges him with injustice, and gives the wicked excuse to remain in their sins. (Hubmaier, *c.* 1528)[90]

Men like Denck[91] and Marpeck[92] also regarded predestination as a blasphemous doctrine.

Original Sin. It is not to be thought that, because the Brethren insisted man's real freedom in some sense must be retained, they discarded the doctrine of original sin. Their position seems to have been that man was in bondage through the sin of Adam and would have so remained if it were not for the grace of God through Jesus Christ which made it possible for man to again act freely and do good works (if the grace be accepted by a free choice) or evil works (if the grace be freely rejected).

God made us free in body, soul, and spirit. This freedom and goodness became by the disobedience of Adam, captive in the spirit, wounded in the soul, and corrupted in the body. Hence, we are conceived and born in sin, children of wrath. If we are to become again free in spirit, sound in soul, uninjured in body, in consequence of the fall, it must be through a new birth, without which, Christ says, we cannot enter the kingdom of God. (Hubmaier, *c.* 1527)[93]

Christ Jesus came to bring again what was lost through the fall of Adam, through which we all would be dead in sin if God had not sent His Son

[89] *Ibid.*, 197.
[90] *Ibid.*, 231.
[91] Coutts, *op. cit.*, 116-36.
[92] Wenger, "Theology of Pilgram Marpeck," *op. cit.*, 213.
[93] Vedder, *op. cit.*, 192-3. The author of the "Twelve Articles of Christian Belief" (either Hubmaier or Schappeler) stated: "I confess that we men, by the disobedience of Adam, lost this sonship rich in grace, this honour and heirship . . ." (*Ibid.*, 131). Because the Anabaptists rejected infant baptism, supposed to wash away original sin, some of their opponents thought they also rejected original sin or the possibility of salvation for children. Grebel said: "We believe that all children who cannot yet distinguish between good and evil are assuredly saved through the sufferings of Christ, the second Adam" (Horsch, "Faith of the Swiss Brethren," *op. cit.*, 5:128). In a disputation at Bern in 1538 the spokesman for the Anabaptists said: "The infants are saved and are heirs of eternal life through the death of Christ . . . although they have inherited the sinful nature from Adam. But as they have inherited it without any fault of their own, so they are also saved without faith." (*Ibid.*)

and given Him all power in heaven and on earth, that every one who would call upon His name and trust in Him should have eternal life. Through His death all who call upon His name shall have forgiveness of sins . . . . (Blaurock, before 1529)[94]

Although there are not many references from the early Anabaptists which deal with the problem of the relation of original sin to man's freedom to the work of Christ (The Pelagian-Augustinian problem), it would seem evident that the Anabaptist way of dealing with the problem was somewhat as follows:[95] Due to the sin of Adam, men were in inescapable bondage to sin until (1) God's grace through Jesus Christ restored to them the possibility of freely choosing to do the right and (2) the regenerative power of the Holy Spirit enabled men to follow through this choice with good actions. This grace and power are available to all men and the responsibility for the choice which he makes rests with each individual. Thus, man can do nothing for his own salvation from the bondage of sin but accept the grace and power offered by God to him through Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit. But in the very act of accepting he both *is* and *becomes* once again free. While God has the power to predestine whom He will to glory and whom He will to damnation, He chose to create man a free and responsible being and this means that "God hardens, darkens, or condemns no one and nobody, unless it be one who of his own will and wickedness will be hardened, darkened and condemned, and that is those people to whom Christ comes as to his own and they receive him not" (Hubmaier, *c.* 1527).[96]

It should be noted how that the theological understanding of the early Anabaptists regarding the nature of man and his salvation comes to a focus in the Scriptural idea of the fruit of the Spirit. The believer must always "give God the glory" for everything good that he is and does. At this point the early Anabaptists stood with the mainstream of Protestantism. But they at the same time were able to retain the importance of individual responsibility for moral behavior, thus holding to the central Christian paradox of the relationship of grace, faith and works, without losing sight of the importance of any of the terms.

[94] Horsch, "Faith of the Swiss Brethren," *op. cit.*, 5:129.
[95] Cf. Wenger, "Concerning the Satisfaction of Christ," *op. cit.*, 247-54. (Marpeck's writings on the subject which appeared some years later take a position similar to that here stated. See Wenger, "The Theology of Pilgram Marpeck," *op. cit.*, 226-30).
[96] Vedder, *op. cit.*, 187.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF CHRISTOPHER DOCK TO CONTEMPORARY CHRISTIAN TEACHING*

KARL MASSANARI

The story of the "pious Schoolmaster of the Skippack," as he is frequently called by historians, is one which is intensely interesting, and which challenges the Christian teacher in a most convincing way. It is indeed, in J. C. Wenger's words, "a very beautiful story."[1] The Dock story has been used by Mrs. Marguerite de Angeli as the historical background for a recent children's book called *Skippack School.*[2]

As already implied, the chief purpose of this address is not historical in nature; and yet, some kind of historical treatment seems almost prerequisite to a consideration of Dock's contribution to Christian teaching. Let us then give attention to a few of the more significant historical facts concerning the life and work of the Skippack schoolmaster.

Very little reliable information, if any, is known about Dock's life in Germany before his migration to Pennsylvania between 1710 and 1714. A leading American authority in the history of education field indicates 1698 as the year in which Dock was born.[3] At present, however, there seems to be no evidence to support this conjecture. One can speculate that possibly Dock had some experience teaching in Germany before he came to America. In the preface to the *Schulordnung,* his treatise on school management, he expresses a deep concern about the children who were entrusted by God to him as a teacher and when speaking of the ten-year period during which he did not teach (1728-1738) he says, *"But in this country* I neglected that profession for ten years for which I often felt the smiting hand of God. . . ."[4] There is no particular need, from the standpoint of the context alone, for his insertion of the phrase, "but in this country." This could suggest that he had taught before coming to this country. Of course this is not conclusive evidence, but these

* An address given at the Conference on Teaching, November 25, 1950, sponsored conjointly by the Teacher Education Division and the Christopher Dock Club of Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana. Given in commemoration of the two-hundredth anniversary of Dock's treatise on pedagogy, the *Schulordnung,* written in 1750.

[1] Wenger, John C., *History of the Mennonites of the Franconia Conference* (Telford, Pa., 1937), 301.

[2] Published by the Doubleday Doran and Company (N.Y., 1939).

[3] Cubberley, Elwood P., *Public Education in the United States* (N.Y., 1934), 325.

[4] Brumbaugh, Martin G., *Life and Works of Christopher Dock* (Philadelphia, 1908), 100. All underlinings in the quotations are those of the author of this article.

four words seem to be one of the very few clues regarding his early life in Germany.

It is supposed by some that he was attracted to America by the religious freedom which his brethren of the Mennonite faith enjoyed. About 1718, shortly after his arrival in Pennsylvania, Dock opened a school among the Mennonites on the Skippack Creek and for ten years proved himself to be a very capable and successful teacher. As teachers sometimes do today and as already mentioned, he gave up his profession temporarily in pursuit of a more remunerative vocation. Consequently, during the next decade, 1728-1738, he was engaged chiefly in farming. Because of a strong sense of call to service and because of the insistence of a number of friends, he returned to the schoolroom in 1738. He divided his time between the two schools in Skippack and Salford townships, instructing three days a week in each school. Dock devoted the remaning thirty-three years of his life to teaching the boys and girls of Skippack and Salford. He also taught at Germantown during this time for four summers.

It is a regrettable fact that so little is known about Dock's own family life. Certainly, a man who excelled in the art of teaching and who understood child psychology far in advance of his day would have had a family life worthy of investigation. It is known that he was married. His wife was already dead when he wrote his will in 1762. At this time two daughters were living—Margaret, married to Henry Stryckers, and Catharine, wife of Peter Jansen.

Dock was an unusually conscientious man. He must have been a model Christian. In him there was always a spirit of humility. Not only did he have an abundant knowledge of the Scriptures as evidenced repeatedly in his writing, but he lived an exemplary Christian life as well. His prayer life was consistent; more significant, it was sincere and meaningful. To those who searched for him one evening after the close of school in 1771, it must not have been a complete surprise to find him as tradition says they did on his knees in the schoolroom in an attitude of prayer—dead.

Accurate information concerning Dock's educational philosophy and teaching methods is more readily available and in greater abundance than is other historical data about him. This is so because he prepared, at the urgent request of friends, the *Schulordnung* which elaborates in detail many of his ideas and practices in managing a school. The *Schulordnung,* literally translated the "school management," was published by Christopher Saur in Germantown in 1770. It was actually written by Dock, however, in

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1750, and it is in commemoration of this event that we honor Christopher Dock who 200 years ago produced this pioneer work in pedagogy. The prestige of his work is more pronounced when one considers that over one hundred years after Dock's death the governor of Pennsylvania, Samuel W. Pennypacker, should devote a chapter in his book to the "pious schoolmaster on the Skippack."[5] And again, twenty-four years later, in 1907, Dr. Martin G. Brumbaugh, Superintendent of Schools at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and later governor of the state, produced a comprehensive book on Dock's life and works.[6] In both of these works the *Schulordnung* receives prominent attention. Let us consider it further.

The *Schulordnung* has unique historical significance for two reasons. It is recognized as the first professional treatise on teaching method written and published in America; and as such, it contains a surprising number of accepted principles of teaching and techniques of procedure. Secondly, it contains the only description available of the early colonial country school. From this point of view alone it is a most significant document for the history of education. The work is pregnant with ideas on psychology and method far in advance of Dock's time. Educators would call many of his methods modern, advanced, and progressive, even when evaluated in the 1950 context.

It is indeed regrettable that so few know about Dock and his work. His contribution has been, in J. E. Hartzler's phrasing, "hidden too long under the ruins of historic forgetfulness."[7] The interest in the past quarter century of a number of scholars in the field of Mennonite History has helped bring to light once again the significance of the pious schoolmaster's life and work. Witness the fact that recently some two hundred students in teacher education at Goshen College have joined together for professional purposes to form the Christopher Dock Club. Again, note that special consideration is given to Dock's work in this Conference on Teaching today; and this evening teachers attending the annual Christian Day School Institute on the campus of Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Virginia, will pay tribute to the Skippack schoolmaster.

The task of determining the nature of Dock's contribution to present-day Christian teaching necessarily involves subjective judg-

[5] Pennypacker, Samuel W., *Historical and Biographical Sketches* (Philadelphia, 1883), Chapter III.
[6] Brumbaugh, *op. cit.*
[7] Hartzler, J. E., *Education Among the Mennonites of America* (Danvers, Ill., 1925), 58.

ment. One needs to be aware of the philosophies and methods proposed by his predecessors. Even then, it is difficult to know how much of what Dock believed and practiced was adopted from earlier educators and how much was original. On the basis of philosophies and methods proposed it is possible to see some relationship between Dock and two earlier European educators: the late sixteenth-century German, Wolfgang Ratich; and the early seventeenth-century Moravian bishop, John Amos Comenius.[8]

Likewise, it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which Dock has influenced present-day American education. One is inclined to say that his influence in this regard has been relatively small. The *Schulordnung* was never translated until 1883, more than one hundred years after his death. Very few education historians even mention Dock and his work in their writing.

Does all this mean that the present-day Christian teacher cannot be influenced by the work of the Skippack schoolmaster? No, indeed. His contribution must come to us today directly; for if one attempts to trace his influence through the channels of history it becomes faint and dim. It is sharp and clear when one studies firsthand his life and work. Let us make this study by considering first, his philosophy of education; second, his administrative concerns; third, his teaching methods and procedures; and fourth, his concept of professional growth.

Dock's Philosophy of Education

1. *The purpose of education.*

To Dock, the purpose of education is expressed Scripturally in Ephesians 4:11-13, "And He has given us some . . . as teachers, in order to fit his people for the work of service, for the building the body of Christ, until we all attain unity in faith, and in the knowledge of the Son of God, and *reach mature manhood, and that full measure of development found in Christ*" (Smith and Goodspeed, *The Bible, An American Translation*). He does not cite this exact portion of Scripture as the basis for his philosophy but note his words in this connection: "Also how a Christian shall do his duty through practicing piety in Christian virtue and *rise step by step to become more like Him who created* and redeemed him."[9] Note the relationship in purpose of education when comparing Dock's statement to that of Comenius, when he says that "our

[8] Hartzler in *op. cit.*, p. 47, also points out the possibility that Dock was a great admirer of Comenius and a close student of *The Great Didactic* written by Comenius.
[9] Brumbaugh, *op. cit.*, 135.

schools, therefore, will then at length be Christian schools when they *make us as like to Christ as is possible.*"[10] The aim of education for Dock, as for Comenius, was the development of the innate powers and capacities of the individual toward maturity in Christ. Maturity in Christ implied an individual in right relationship with God, fellow men, and himself.

2. *The nature of the teacher's responsibility.*

Dock's philosophy of education also embraced the nature of the teacher's responsibility. He recognized his work as a call from God. He felt that the children were entrusted to him for a period of their lives. Consequently, he had an unusually conscientious attitude toward his responsibility. Note how evident this is in his own words: "I owe God particular thanks, because besides calling me to this profession He has given me an extreme love of children."[11] And again, speaking of his regret for having given up the profession for ten years, he says: "May the Lord graciously overlook my neglect of the youth during that time."[12]

3. *The nature of the relationship of the school and home.*

His philosophy of education also embraced the nature of the relationship of the school and the home. He regarded the role of the school to be very important to the development of the child, especially when the home had failed in its responsibility. The role of the teacher in the school he regarded thus: "Now all the duties of parents to their children are also the duties of the teacher to whom the children are entrusted. And as he is in this sense head of these children, so Christ is his head. . . ."[13] As can be seen, Dock tied up the relationship of the home and the school with Christ, the head.

4. *Who should be educated?*

Evident in Dock's philosophy of education is a concern for who should be educated. One of the important pronouncements of present-day education is that no child should be denied educational opportunities because of economic position. Dock taught the children of the poor as willingly without pay as he taught others with pay. In his own words, one also finds this point of view expressed: "The poor beggar child, scurfy, ragged and lousy, if otherwise it have a good disposition and willingness to learn, should be as dear to him (the teacher) though he never receive a penny for

[10] Arrowood, Chas. F., and Eby, Fred., *The Development of Modern Education* (N.Y., 1934), 259.
[11] Brumbaugh, *op. cit.*, 124.
[12] *Ibid.*, 100.
[13] *Ibid.*, 129.

it in this world, as the child of wealth from whom he expects good remuneration. The rich reward for the poor child will come in the next world."[14] One must remember, however, that Dock's motive for providing free education for the poor stemmed not so much from the possible future reward as from a sincere love for his fellow man here and now.

5. The nature of learning.

It is fruitful to consider Dock's understanding of the nature of learning as a part of his educational philosophy. It is, however, more difficult to analyze than are other aspects of his philosophy. Some inferences can be drawn from three of the "One Hundred Christian Rules for Children" which he is said to have written:

> 32. Not only esteem God highly in thy heart for His infinite power, goodness and wisdom, but seek also *to express thy esteem in words and deeds.*
>
> 33. Employ thy mouth to call for His help in trouble, to praise His love, and to thank Him for all His benefits.
>
> 34. *But so shape thy deeds also,* that God may be glorified in them.[15]

One may infer from these statements that Dock was concerned with more than just rote memory in the learning process. He expected learning to modify the behavior of the individual. Deeds, not just words, were the end products.

Dock's Administrative Concerns

1. Class organization.

Having considered Dock's philosophy of education, let us now give attention to some of his administrative concerns. Undoubtedly, he was aware of the technique of grading or grouping pupils for instructional purposes. He says concerning the assembling of children at school: ". . . when he can say his A B C's and point out each letter he is put into the A.B. class . . ." later ". . . he enters the word class" . . . then "the reading class."[16] At another place Dock speaks about having those who do sums and those who read sit separately.[17] His use of the grouping technique, however, did not keep him from being aware of and doing something about individual differences. This point is to be considered later.

2. Supervision of out-of-class activities.

Another administrative concern of the schoolmaster was the provision of adequate supervision for out-of-class activity. This is a problem which confronts the present-day teacher as well. Dock

[14] *Ibid.*, 103.
[15] *Ibid.*, 217.
[16] *Ibid.*, 104.
[17] *Ibid.*, 108.

A single reading of the hundred rules of conduct for children will convince the reader that Dock was vitally interested in the development of proper health and safety attitudes. The quotations which follow have been selected and do not represent an inclusive list.

(c) *Health habits.*

7. When you wash your face and hands, do not splash water about the room.

8. Rinsing the mouth with water each morning and rubbing the teeth with the fingers serves to preserve the teeth.[27]

(d) *Safety habits.*

65. When school is out do not make a clatter. In going down stairs do not jump two or three steps at a time, lest you hurt yourself.

70. Do not walk along looking at the sky, do not run against people, do not tread where the mud is thickest or in puddles.

71. When you see a wagon coming, step aside and avoid danger. Never hang on the back of a wagon.[28]

(e) *Courtesy.* It is impossible in this address to cite sufficient references to indicate the extent of Dock's concern for courtesy. Here again one is reminded of a similar emphasis placed on courtesy and manners by Comenius. The fact that thirty of the one hundred rules of conduct for children deal with conduct at mealtime may give some indication of the detailed attention which he gave to the teaching of courtesy. Incidentally, these rules of conduct are considered by some to be the first elaborate treatise on the subject of etiquette. The most significant observation which can be made of the schoolmaster's concern in this area is this: he regarded the basis for all courteous behavior to be the love which one has in his heart for his neighbor.[29]

(f) *Social attitudes.* Not only were the Skippack children expected to be courteous, but they were expected to develop other desirable social attitudes. The emphasis placed by the schoolmaster upon the evils which stem from an unruly tongue deserves special attention at this point. He considered swearing and lying two of the most serious problems in his school community. He was uncompromising in his attack on slanderous remarks and gossip of one person about another.

At school avoid this scandalous talking, by which you make your teacher's work more difficult, annoy other pupils and disturb the attention of your self and others.[30]

In repeating what others have told thee, add nothing, lest thou enter the net of the spirit of lies. Judge and censure no one. Do not

[27] *Ibid.*, 203.
[28] *Ibid.*, 209, 210.
[29] *Ibid.*, 211.
[30] *Ibid.*, 208.

reveal thy friend's secrets. Be no slanderer or tell-tale; speak well of thy neighbor and excuse his weaknesses.[31]

Greed for honor among children was considered another of the serious social problems to be dealt with. The significant point here is that Dock recognized this social problem to be more acute at the adult level. In speaking of greed for honor, he says that it is exhibited in children "though not to such extent as among adults, in whom it has often led, for the sake of a title or honor, to great war and bloodshed."[32] Truly, the schoolmaster was concerned with educating the whole child.

2. *Pupil participation in the learning process.*

A second principle of teaching applied in a modified way in his work, even if unknown as such, is that related to the desirability of pupil participation in the learning process. His use of student monitors and helpers in the schoolroom for various purposes including instructional, his provision for pupils to practice and to recite, and to otherwise participate in schoolwork, gives sufficent evidence to indicate that Dock was at least acquainted with the pupil participation idea.

3. *Maximum student growth occurs when there are effective pupil-teacher relationships.*

It would be unfair to Dock to say that all his ideas, his methods, his techniques are recognized today as acceptable. It would also be unfair to him to say that he lacked vision in the area of establishing effective pupil-teacher relationships. In this area, more than in any other, he proposed and practiced ideas far in advance of his time. This is true first of all because he was a mature Christian possessed with love for his pupils. Secondly, he was talented, endowed by God with native ability.

Today, progressive educators speak of maintaining a healthy emotional climate in the classroom, of providing the basis for a "we-feeling" and a feeling of belongingness, of developing self-discipline in the pupil, of utilizing the potence of group pressure in discipline, of providing opportunities for pupils with feelings of inferiority so that they may overcome these feelings, and of helping students achieve peace of mind. It is very probable that Dock would recognize not one of these theoretical terms; but the concepts and principles which these terms symbolize were most certainly not unfamiliar to him.

[31] *Ibid.*, 220.
[32] *Ibid.*, 119.

In order to establish a "we-feeling" among his pupils he used a rather detailed system of welcoming new students to his schoolroom. It is most interesting to note in this regard that the regular pupils participated in the welcoming activity.[33]

Dock knew that effective relations between pupils and teacher involved the teacher's attitude toward the pupils. He expresses concern for what he calls "a teacher's duty to be impartial"[34] to students in so far as this is possible.

Special attention was given to the timid individuals so that they might overcome their inferiorities. "In this way," says Dock, ". . . are the very timid cured of their shyness (which is a great hindrance in learning)."[35] With respect to disciplining children he was conscious of those students who possessed reticent personalities. "Now experience teaches," indicates the schoolmaster, "that a timid child is harmed rather than benefited by harsh words or much application of the rod, and to improve it, other means must be employed."[36]

To really appreciate Dock's understanding of discipline one should get a picture of typical methods employed in his day. To illustrate: the father of Nathaniel Green who was a Quaker preacher, felt that duty required him to flog his son with a horsewhip.

> Students, he said, like horses on the road,
> Must be well lashed before they take the load;
> They may be willing for a time to run,
> But you must whip them, ere the work be done.[37]

Even though Dock occasionally resorted to the use of the rod, he certainly did not agree with or use the methods expounded by such contemporaries. He felt, rather, that good behavior resulted from encouraging the pupil to discipline himself, that is, through self-discipline. Dock's position on discipline can be understood rather clearly from two quotations:

> The slap of the hand, hazel branch and birch rod, are means of preventing wicked outburst, but they *cannot change the stubborn heart*. . . .[38]
>
> . . . and though we have the power to punish . . . it is preferable to bring the children to do things *from a love of doing* than to force them by the rod. The words "Thou shalt and must" and the words "I obey gladly" are very different in sound. For the latter the master needs no rod, and it sounds sweeter and is easier to account for.[39]

It will be recognized that the latter statement contains, in addition to the idea of self-discipline, an understanding of the most successful

[33] *Ibid.*, 104.
[34] *Ibid.*, 103.
[35] *Ibid.*, 107.
[36] *Ibid.*, 122.
[37] Pennypacker, *op. cit.*, 122.
[38] Brumbaugh, *op. cit.*, 122.
[39] *Ibid.*, 123.

type of motivation possible. Several of the Christian rules for children express further an understanding of self-discipline:

50. If an angry or revengeful thought tries to arise in thee, subdue it by the thought of the love and gentleness of Jesus Christ.[40]

80. Learn betimes to curb thy affections and emotions that they do not enslave thee.

84. From wicked self-love arise three chief vices, ambition, avarice and lust. Discover to which of these thou art most inclined, and seek to suppress such tendency betimes.[41]

In the matter of discipline Dock was also familiar with what today is called group pressure. He was aware of the potency of group pressure as compared to corporal punishment when he wrote, "I know from experience that this denunciation of the children hurts more than if I were to constantly wield and flourish the rod."[42]

The following rather lengthy citation illustrates vividly how the schoolmaster dealt with certain disciplinary cases. While one would not follow his procedure in every detail, one would agree, however, with a number of the techniques used.

. . . among many children swearing or cursing is so common, expressing itself variously in so many wicked words. If this evil is not warded off, such sour "leaven leavens the whole lump," therefore such children are carefully examined, whether they understand what they are saying. As it is frequently very evident that they do not, they are asked whether they have thought of the words themselves or have heard them; they usually reply that they heard them from So and So. If asked why they say it also, the answer is usually again, because So and So said it. Thus often ignorance is shown. They do not know why they are saying it. To such it must be explained that they must guard against such words; that they are against God's will and command. . . . If such children then promise not to use the words again, they go free the first time. *But if* after being warned they persist in the bad habit, after being certain that the accusation is true, they are put upon the punishment seat, with a yoke on their neck, as a sign of punishment. On promising to be good in the future they escape with a few slaps. If they again offend, the punishment is increased, and they must furnish surety. The oftener the offense, the more bondsmen. These bondsmen's business is to warn and remind the offender and prevent repetition. This is the rein and bit to be put into their mouths for such offense, but the change of heart must come from a higher hand, and must be sought with diligent prayer.[43]

Attention is now directed to the schoolmaster's comprehension of what today is called "peace of mind." In the beautiful letter to his grown pupils, already referred to, he writes, "and if we take up His yoke and learn humility and gentleness of heart from Him we shall find *rest in our soul,* which rest may be enjoyed forever."[44]

[40] *Ibid.,* 219.
[41] *Ibid.,* 222, 223.
[42] *Ibid.,* 106.
[43] *Ibid.,* 113, 114.
[44] *Ibid.,* 195.

Today it is called "peace of mind"; then it was phrased "rest in the soul." The same thought is expressed in the Christian rules for children: "86. Thy soul can find rest nowhere except in God. The closer thou dost approach Him in faith and love, the more peaceful it will become."[45]

4. *Motivation is an important factor in the learning process.*

Attention already has been called to the fact that Dock recognized motivation as an important factor in the learning process. He felt it "preferable to bring children to do things from a love of doing" rather than to coerce them. This principle, as we know, is basic to teaching method.

The schoolmaster not only took personal interest in and encouraged the growth of each pupil, but awarded every stage of the progress with suitable gifts. These rewards, used as motivational devices, included such gifts as paintings of birds, illuminated writings, and pennies. At appropriate times he would expect that parents would give their children something special at home to reward them for satisfactory progress at school. The most common of these rewards was a fried egg. It is true that today one would not concur with Dock in using this rather elaborate system of awards, but it should be pointed out that perhaps today we select valedictorians and present scholarships on the basis of the number of "illuminated writings" and "fried eggs" received by our students.

5. *Good teaching recognizes and cares for individual differences in pupils.*

At this point it is almost redundant to say that the schoolmaster was aware of individual differences in his pupils. Superior teaching today uses every means possible to adapt instruction to the varying abilities of pupils. Such procedure is essential to maximum individual growth. Dock's recognition that the rod was an unsatisfactory means of disciplining all children has already been pointed out.

Dock also applied this principle to the area of instruction. In the letter writing exchange carried on between the children at Skippack and those at Salford, "it was so arranged that pupils of equal ability corresponded." This certainly does not indicate ignorance of the principle under consideration. His remarkable concern for giving special attention to the timid and shy individuals in their regular schoolwork testifies further to this point. Attention is now directed to still another principle, namely:

[45] *Ibid.*, 223.

6. *The selection of significant learning experiences is essential to effective learning and to optimum pupil growth.*

One of the specific reasons Dock had for writing the *Schulordnung* was to explain in detail his inter-school correspondence project. Undoubtedly this was original with the schoolmaster because of the very nature of the circumstance in which it developed. Teaching regularly at Skippack and Salford, three days per week in each, provided him with the opportunity; but it must have been his great vision for teaching which caused him to originate and to carry out the idea of the project. The recommendation which he makes to other schoolmasters concerning the use of this project further makes one believe that the idea was original with him.

Two hundred years later, the English teacher in a modern American school considers, and rightly so, correspondence between her students and foreign students a significant learning experience. Obviously, Dock's project had value in that it provided his pupils with a firsthand experience in actually writing letters, rather than a vicarious experience of talking about the matter or even of writing make-believe letters.

A recent book called *Better Learning Through Current Materials*[46] suggests to teachers the value of and the ways to use current materials in the classroom. Two hundred years ago, Dock had his pupils "reading newspapers and letters."[47]

In Mrs. de Angeli's book, *Skippack School,* reference is made to a trip to Germantown by the schoolmaster and Eli, the young Mennonite pupil. According to the story Dock planned and carried out what today we would call a field trip or educational tour. While the story apparently is fictional, the incident by no means sounds improbable when considered in the context of Dock's vision of teaching.

7. *Other techniques used.*

In addition to what already has been mentioned about the schoolmaster's methods of teaching, there are yet a few significant things which should be said.

Modern educational psychology tells us that the effective teacher so guides and directs the learning situation that the process begins with the known and proceeds to the unknown. Dock used the idea this way—"As much as they can understand of the Lord's

[46] Kinney, Lucien and Dresden, Katharine, *Better Learning Through Current Materials* (Stanford University Press, 1950).

[47] Brumbaugh, *op. cit.,* 108.

Prayer and the ten commandments . . . I exhort and admonish them accordingly."[48]

Likewise he was not unfamiliar with the technique of application in teaching. After he had taught his students numbers and figures he then gave "them something to find in the Testament or hymnal."[49] It is true that today one would not approve of his entire method of teaching arithmetic, but certainly no one would take issue on the matter of application.

Teaching, as we well know, sometimes involves doing the same thing or saying the same thing in a number of ways for the benefit of different pupils. Note the schoolmaster's method in this regard: ". . . they are reminded of the chapter read them, and asked to consider the teaching therein. As it is the case that this thought is also expressed in other passages of the Holy Writ, these are found and read, and then a hymn is given containing the same teaching."[50] Later in the *Schulordnung,* he elaborates the idea further:

> It also becomes evident that the more passages are found dealing with a certain quality (idea) the more clearly does the truth of the same appear. In this way one passage of scripture serves not only to fix another one in memory, but also to elucidate and explain it.[51]

Thus the schoolmaster explained, clarified, emphasized, and showed relationships for the purpose of facilitating the learning process.

As is known, much failure in schoolwork today can be attributed to the fact that the learning experiences provided are too difficult and complex for the developmental level of the pupil. Two hundred years ago, Dock, in commenting about the many exercises which he provided for his pupils, cautioned: "each should be taken up at a particular time with children."[52] As mentioned before, such vision for the art of teaching defies logical explanation in terms of professional teacher education as known today.

Dock's Concept of Professional Growth

Consideration has now been given to the schoolmaster's philosophy of education, his administrative concerns, and his principles and techniques of teaching. A brief word about his concept of professional growth is now in order. No teacher who expects to do effectual work can hope to do so continually without growing day by day, year by year, while in the profession and on the job. The

[48] *Ibid.,* 105.
[49] *Ibid.,* 110.
[50] *Ibid.,* 109.
[51] *Ibid.,* 133.
[52] *Ibid.,* 136.

whole concept of in-service training with the work of the supervisor, faculty meetings, professional meetings, and so on rests on this premise.

Dock's concern for his own growth is perhaps the dominant challenge which comes to one from a study of his life and work. "I early discovered," he says, "that if I wish to accomplish good among children I must daily with David, lift up my eyes to the mountains for help."[53] This same idea he taught to his pupils. ". . . do not consider," he said, "that thou canst do all this of thine own power. Pray God daily to strengthen thy good intent. . . ."[54] It is said that it was his custom to come before the throne of God daily while at his desk with the class roll and to pray for each pupil individually by name. It will be remembered that according to tradition it was in this circumstance that he was found dead. Dock did not wait for his supervisor to come to visit him. He took the initiative and conferred daily with his supervisor, God Almighty.

The challenge which comes from the pious schoolmaster to the Christian teacher today is most convincing. One can almost hear him say:

> Go, teach!—For you have been *called* to serve.
> Be faithful in duty—For entrusted to you, are the *lives* of children.
> Be steadfast in living—For they learn also by example.
> Let brotherly love guide your method; and from God seek the wisdom, the understanding, and the power to nobly fulfill the task.

This is Dock's challenge to us!

Bibliographical Note

The following editions of Dock's *Schulordnung* are listed in Bender, H. S., *Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature* (Goshen, 1929):

Dock, Christoph, *Eine einfältige und gründlich abgefasste Schulordnung, darinnen deutlich vorgestellt wird, auf welche Weisse die Kinder nicht nur in denen in Schulen gewöhnlichen Lehren bestens angebracht, sondern auch in der Lehre der Gottseligkeit wohl unterrichtet werden mögen, aus Liebe zu dem menschlichen Geschlecht aufgesetzt durch den wohlfahrenen und lang geübten Schulmeister, Christoph Dock. Und durch einige Freunde des gemeinen Bestens dem Druck übergeben.* (Germantown, Christoph Saur, 1770).

Reprints: Germantown, 1770; Columbiana, Ohio, 1861.

In addition to the articles and books mentioned in the footnotes the following two articles should be mentioned.

Leatherman, Quintus, "Christopher Dock, Mennonite Schoolmaster, 1718-1771," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review,* Jan., 1942, 32-45.

Bender, Harold S., "Christopher Dock, The Pious Schoolmaster on the Skippack," *The American German Review,* Feb., 1945, 4-6, 36.

[53] *Ibid.,* 133. [54] *Ibid.,* 215.

AN ANABAPTIST ORDINANCE OF 1633 ON NONRESISTANCE

Robert Friedmann

All evangelical Anabaptists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries believed very strictly in the practice of nonresistance. In fact, it is their distinguishing mark. Its roots are the commandments of the Sermon on the Mount and the entire spirit of true discipleship. In this regard there was no digression among the different groups, Swiss Brethren, Dutch and North German Mennonites, and Austrian Hutterites. As early as 1524, Conrad Grebel, the founder of the Swiss Brethren, emphasized this principle in his well-known letter to Thomas Müntzer.[1] Time and again we meet the same emphasis in our sources, be they epistles, confessions before a court (*Verantwortungen*), debates, admonitions to the brotherhood, and so forth. For instance, in the famous epistle to the governor of Moravia of 1535, Jakob Huter writes thus:

> All our doings, word and work, life and conduct, are open to everyone and in no way hidden . . . . Ere we would knowingly do injustice to anybody for a penny's worth, we would rather suffer to be deprived of a hundred florins, and to be wronged. And ere we would strike our worst enemy with our hand, let alone with pike, sword, or halberd, as the world does, we would rather die and have our lives taken from us. Moreover, we do not possess material arms, neither pike nor gun, as anybody may well see and which is known everywhere. In summa, our message, our speaking, our life and conduct, is this that one ought to live in peace and unity in God's truth and righteousness, as true Christian disciples of Christ.[2]

There is no doubt that the brethren accepted this basic principle with never-swerving loyalty; the long list of martyrs is a speaking proof of it. But individual martyrdom in days of great dedication is one thing, and the conduct of an entire group (brotherhood, *Gemein*) under more settled conditions is another thing. How are the brethren to behave in externally difficult situations when dangers arise, such as foreign invasions (e.g., the Turks in Austria around 1600) or highhanded acts of the lords who try to extort money or services according to the usage of the time? What should be the right conduct if loss of goods or even lives are at stake, and this all not so much for the sake of one's faith

[1] H. S. Bender, *Conrad Grebel, the Founder of the Swiss Brethren,* Goshen, Ind 1950, 284-5.

[2] A. J. F. Zieglschmid, *Die älteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brüder,* 1943, 151-2.

but rather in the course of violent incidents of some sort? Might then "self-defense," *Selbst-Schultz,* not seem to be justifiable.[3]

Anabaptists lived a disciplined life, and the principle of regulated "order" within their group was paramount to their brotherhood idea. Discipleship to them did not mean that every brother should decide for himself individually how to follow the Lord, and the idea of the "ban" was but another expression of this principle of order in the brotherhood to which each gladly submitted.

Hence, written rules or "ordinances," *Ordnungen,* issued by true leaders with an inner calling for their work, are very characteristic for Anabaptist life.[4] They are particularly characteristic for the Hutterites, the most closely organized brotherhood in Anabaptist history. A great number of such *Ordnungen* have been found in Hutterites' manuscripts, dealing with almost any and every possible subject of their common life: rules concerning the particular activities in the colonies (*Bruderhöfe*), such as work in the fields, stables, vineyards, shops, kitchen, nursery, laundry rooms, and so on, the way of marriage and wedding, the way of assembling, praying, and acting in common affairs. Likewise orders concerning dress, speech, demeanor, and so on. In short, the spiritual as well as the social and economic functions were regulated and directed, and put under discipline which all brethren voluntarily accepted. In this regard we might discover a certain external similarity with medieval monasticism. The recent publication of the so-called Smaller Chronicle of the Hutterites[5] is particularly valuable in this regard since it reproduces in an "Appendix" of nearly fifty pages a good number of these Hutterite ordinances dating from 1651 to 1873,[6] some known and discussed before,[7] and some new.

[3] The "Selbstschutz" among the Mennonites in Southern Russia during the Bolshevik revolution 1918-1920 is well discussed by C. Henry Smith, *The Story of the Mennonites,* Berne, Ind., 1941, 487-8. It was later strongly condemned by the Elders, and even some of the young men confessed their mistake. It had tragic consequences.

[4] The term "church discipline," though somewhat approximating this type of regulation, reflects a different spirit, hence it had better not be used in our present historic interpretation. The monastic term "regula" (rule) comes still nearer to what we face here.

[5] *Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brüder,* ed. by A. J. F. Zieglschmid, Philadelphia, 1947. The original ms. was written by Johannes Waldner (Vorsteher of the brotherhood from 1794 to his death in 1824) most likely between 1793 and 1802. It consists practically of two parts: in the first one, Waldner retells the story of the Greater Chronicle, 1525-1665, while in the second part, he continues the story, up to 1752 from other sources, and from 1752 to 1802 from his own memory.

[6] *Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch,* etc., 519-65. The first "Ordnungen," pp. 519-32, are dated 1651, and have Andreas Ehrenpreis as their author. The volume has some more such Ordnungen, namely: the earliest one of 1529 (p. 16); another one by Ehrenpreis, concerning wedding, of 1643 (pp. 214-18); and the general description of the organization of the "Gemein" during its golden days 1570-1590 (pp. 95-97). An

But one topic seems to be absent altogether in these rules: the practice of nonresistance.[8] We read, to be true, that in 1595 such a rule had been issued (most likely by the Vorsteher Klaus Braidl), in face of terrible pressure by the rising Catholic Counter-Reformation, but its contents are not known, hence the arguments, the spirit, and the extent of this most central principle remain somewhat vague. It was therefore a real surprise to discover that in the text of the Smaller Chronicle a lengthy insert to the year 1633 represents actually just such a Hutterite ordinance concerning the practice of radical nonresistance as it had been in use since the days of Jakob Huter. A detailed study of this document is therefore well justified and may help in clarifying the spirit of the Anabaptist forefathers. The incident which led to this elaborate discussion has long been known from the so-called Greater Chronicle of the Hutterites.[9] But this older book does not mention at all the ensuing ordinance or, as our text says, "the assembly speech by the chosen Elders." It was Johannes Waldner (d. 1824), the author of the *Klein-Geschichtsbuch,* who inserted this document in his narrative[10] obviously with the intention to strengthen the spirit of his group in its heroic struggle of maintaining the nonresistant behavior. He tells us in his introduction to the new document that he took it from another book of Hutterite origin otherwise unknown. In so doing Waldner performed a real service to his group as well as to all those who are concerned with this idea of nonresistance, for it not only elaborates the details of practical behavior in an actual situation, but also deals with the Scriptural arguments for the principle.

Yet, before discussing these more fundamental points, it will be necessary to summarize briefly the background (the "incident"), which prompted the enunciation of these commandments. To begin with, we should keep in mind that the seventeenth century was still a period of feudalism, or, to be more specific, of the time-honored manorial system. Lords, great and small, owned the land which was tilled by peasants. They were partly free—such as, for instance, the Hutterites—and partly villeins or even serfs

original ms. by Ehrenpreis with a complete collection of such orders is kept in the library of the Catholic primate of Hungary at Gran (Esztergom); a copy of it is in the Beck collection in Brno, Moravia, file No. 87. (*M.Q.R.*, XXIII, 1949, 106.)

[7] See Johann Loserth, "Der Kommunismus der mährischen Wiedertäufer im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," in *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte,* v. 81, 1894, where these Ordnungen are discussed at great length. Also R. Wolkan, *Die Hutterer,* Wien, 1918, prints some of these documents and discusses them.

[8] The principle of "Nonresistance" is most exhaustively discussed by Guy F. Hershberger, *War, Peace, and Nonresistance,* Goshen, Ind., 1944.

[9] A. J. F. Zieglschmid, *Die älteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brüder,* 1943, 817-25.

[10] *Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch,* etc., 168-72.

who enjoyed but a very small amount of freedom. But even the free peasants possessed only very restricted rights, since the lord of the manor (*Gutsherr, Grundherr*) had full jurisdiction over all his tenants. Naturally, arbitrariness and highhanded conduct were common events, and the lower classes had no ways and means effectively to defend themselves. As a rule, the lords had the right to ask from all their tenants, including the free ones, certain services in the field or vineyard or with "cart and horses," as the saying goes. The technical term for these services in England and France is *corvée,* and in German lands *Robot* or *Frohndienst.* It always meant a heavy burden to the peasants, particularly since its interpretation was at the mercy of the superiors.

The Hutterites were excellent tillers of the soil, and for this reason welcomed by the lords who were more interested in thriving estates than in carrying out the orders of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. This was especially true in Slovakia, then a part of Hungary. Around the village of Sabatisch the land given to the brethren belonged to not less than thirteen lords of the manor, and it was quite obvious that the brethren could not serve all these thirteen lords "with cart and horse." Thus in their contract or *Hausbrief*[11]—they were a free party in this contract—they agreed to pay a certain sum of money instead of any service. Thus the brethren became legally exempt from any claim to a *corvée.* Furthermore, they also stipulated in this *Hausbrief* that as Christians they would and could not appeal to any court, manorial or otherwise, in case of conflicts. This, too, was granted, most likely with little understanding on the side of the lords.

Now then, in the year 1633, a small incident occurred at the Sabatisch Bruderhof which at first looked quite serious. One of the thirteen lords, a certain nobleman Francis Nagy-Michaly, was in need of some horses. Disregarding the contract, he came down to the Bruderhof and asked for these horses. Unfortunately, the Diener der Notdurft (manager of the colony, steward) had died a few nights previously, and the Vorsteher (or bishop) Heinrich Hartmann (1631-1639) was lying sick in bed. No one was around who carried a particular responsibility. The impatient lord tried to get the horses from the stables right away, and ordered his servants to go ahead. The brethren, who had not known the lord

11 Jos. Beck, *Die Geschicht-Bücher der Wiedertäufer in Österreich-Ungarn,* Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, Wien, 1883, p. 364. The renewal of the Hausbrief in 1640 is published by Zieglschmid, *Klein-Geschichtbuch,* etc., 128 n. The first contract was signed in 1613.

personally, took his servants for marauding hussars, and got excited. On the spur of the moment (with no leader present) they grasped whatever they could take hold of, sticks, flails, pitchforks, axes, and so on, and thus prevented the carrying away of their good horses. According to the narrative, no harm was done to the lord.

This was the incident, a case of *Selbst-Schutz,* somewhat reminiscent of similar events among South Russian Mennonites during the revolutionary days of 1919. There is no need to discuss here the moral principle involved. From a consistent Anabaptist viewpoint no such Selbst-Schutz can ever be justified, even if the situation is difficult, involving loss of goods or lives. In the long run, the nonresistant attitude is more conducive to the well-being of the brotherhood (and to their basic Christian witness, too) than the temporary advantage reached by abandoning it.

Soon the results of this inconsiderate and irresponsible act became evident. To resist the lord of the manor with violence—even in a case of arbitrariness on the lord's part—was regarded as a major crime, and the Vorsteher Heinrich Hartmann together with four brethren was arrested and dragged before a court of noblemen. All his excuses, apologies, references to the contract, and so on, were of no avail. The brethren had to suffer many months of jail, with irons on their legs, not to mention their continuous fear of finally being sent to a frontier fort against the Turks. It was only after a long time when some of the more sober lords became concerned about their estates and the work thereon, that they asked a supreme mediation by the Lord Palatine, the representative of the king of Hungary[12] and head of the entire Hungarian nobility. Eventually, in October, 1633, a compromise was worked out and accepted, and with the payment of some money to Mr. Nagy-Michaly the case was legally closed.

Yet it was not closed morally and spiritually. Something had happened in the brotherhood which spoiled their record, and which a generation earlier would have thought impossible. The brethren in their Christian conscience and their earnest endeavor to live up to the principle of absolute discipleship had never before committed such an act of "self-defense" with arms, not even in the worst days of the Turkish invasion (1605)[13] nor during their painful expulsion from Moravia (prior to 1622). It was a serious

[12] The Emperor Ferdinand II, a Habsburg, who was at the same time also the king of Hungary.

[13] Compare A. J. F. Zieglschmid, *Die älteste Chronik,* etc., 628-41, and R. Friedmann, "Adventures of an Hutterian Brother in Turkey, 1607-10," in *M.Q.R.,* XVII, 1943, 73-86.

breach or rather backsliding, a defection from their old ways of witnessing to Christ's commandments. If true Christian discipline was to be kept alive something had to be done. Thus the Elders called a meeting of the brotherhood in Slovakia to amend its ways which had become faulty and uncertain, and at the same time to exhort the brethren to remain staunchly on the one way which they had accepted with their baptism, the way marked out by Jakob Huter and the many loyal followers afterwards. This, then, is the background of the "ordinance" of 1633, a translation of which will be published on the following pages.

The text says simply this: "On November 28, 1633, the great assembly at Levar resolved to profess the following points before the entire brotherhood." Obviously this does not quite sound as an ordinance in the strict sense of the word, and for that reason it is not easily recognized as such. Yet in the run of the speech (and our text is essentially just this), delivered by one of the Elders or Diener des Wortes, we read this passage: "We therefore command you by the power which the Lord has given us, that henceforth no brother should protect himself with violence." Any disobedience in this regard will be punished with the ban. It is quite clear that such a proclamation represents nothing less than an "ordinance," an *Ordnung*.—Who is its author? It does not seem likely that the Vorsteher Heinrich Hartmann, an elderly man of good standing but apparently mediocre leadership qualities, could have produced this forceful speech. John Horsch, who published part of the German text of this speech in 1929,[14] surmised that no one else but Andreas Ehrenpreis could have been the originator of this document. We know that during his long years of service he had tried hard to revive the old spirit and all the time-tested Hutterite principles. Thus it seems almost certain that this conjecture of Horsch is correct. The brotherhood had no greater leader during its seventeenth-century history than this simple miller from Sabatisch. Born around 1590 in a Hutterite colony of Moravia,[15] he became a minister of the Word of God in 1623 (or 1621?), and after the death of the Vorsteher Hartmann, in 1639, was unanimously elected Vorsteher or bishop of the entire Hutterite brotherhood. In this function he served until his death in 1662. Considering the trying times, it was a glorious period of

[14] John Horsch, in *Mennonitischer Familien Kalender für das Jahr 1929,* Scottdale, Pa., 34-36.

[15] See the article on "Ehrenpreis" by J. Loserth in *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* v. I, 530-32. There is no newer literature on this outstanding man though he would deserve an extensive biography.

leadership and witnessing. His writings breathe the spirit of an outstanding man, a true "evangelical Anabaptist" of the great tradition. The reading of his tracts, epistles, and so on, means still today an enrichment to the sensitive mind. He was a man of great brotherly love, spiritual vision, and stern principles concerning the practice of discipleship. We know that he was the author of a great number of ordinances, to be sure in the main of a more practical nature. It was he who stopped the threatening decline (the *Verfliessen*—as the text says) of the brotherhood for at least half a century. The ordinance is just one step in this direction.

What he actually wanted to convey to his brethren in his address of 1633, he said almost at the end of it:[16] "Take off your spotted garments of sin, and make them white in the blood of the Lamb" (Revelation 7:14). The argument of the evangelical advice in the Sermon on the Mount not to resist evil is the main theme of the speech. It is not only unwise to attempt "self-defense," it is actually "a defection from faith that a brother should dare to knock down the one who did violence to him, to run after him who is already fleeing, and still to beat him when down on the ground." It means "spot and wrinkle" on the *Gemein,* the true church of Christ.

But how? Might not somebody object, and out of an economic concern (or mentality) talk back somewhat in the following fashion: "Are we then to permit any violent taking away of possessions of our brotherhood?" To this, Andreas Ehrenpreis answers unequivocally, "According to the teachings of Christ: yes. It is more blessed to us, and [in the long run] also of greater profit than if we would resist with violence. . . ." "It would be a pity if anyone among us who had shared all the suffering with the brethren, would then forfeit his salvation just for such reasons."

This is obviously no theological tract but an ordinance. Though filled with quotations from the Holy Scriptures, it is yet nowhere theoretical. It is a simple confession, or should we rather say profession, a renewed and authoritative statement concerning the basic way of Christian discipleship. In this sense it has its great value, providing an object lesson in the handling of such a situation, loyally continuing the tradition of true evangelical Anabaptism.

[16] *Klein-Geschichtbuch,* etc., 172.

The text, taken from the *Klein-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brüder,* pages 168-172

To the reader[17]

One should not think that the brotherhood *(Gemein)* approved of such resistance and upheaval which men without the fear of God in their hearts had aroused against their lord of the manor, even though in the above description[18] these brethren were declared innocent. This might be well true when seen with the eyes of the world and judged according to secular law. It is true that the brethren did not know their lord by face, and they had certainly no intention of slaying him as they had been accused at the court. In this regard they really were innocent. Yet, their deed and violent self-defense was nevertheless contrary to the Gospel and also against their faith and conscience. For this reason the Elders discussed this matter before the entire Gemein, and faithfully admonished everybody to be on one's guard that henceforth no such events would ever happen again. Although the Greater Chronicle does not record this meeting, it still can be found in another book, and I think it is fitting to insert here the main points of these talks in order to fully recognize the disapproval of the Elders and the entire Gemein of the afore-mentioned acts.

On November 28, in the year of our Lord 1633, the great Assembly at Levar (Slovakia) *resolved to profess the following points before the entire Gemein.*

Beloved Brethren, For many and great reasons we feel prompted not only to profess earnestly the following points before the entire Gemein but also to insist upon their observation henceforth.

Recently it came to pass in our Gemein that the brethren, very much against our calling and the Word of God, yea, against the Spirit of Christ, made themselves conspicuous by rioting, beating, violently resisting against a sword-minded magistrate, its servants and other people of that kind. By that we not only sinned in our conscience against God but we also have become gravely punishable in the eyes of the authorities, and are labeled as impudent and refractory people, even proud scoundrels, by the big lords of the country. Besides and for that reason, we are afraid lest this would bring tribulation and ruin to the Gemein, even to our widows and orphans.

And if it should happen (as it has been strongly hinted at by the high powers of the country) that we bring tribulation to the Gemein, then we would have a poor consolation in our Christian conscience that we suffer for the sake of truth and faith, particularly those (of us) who stained themselves with such deeds.

For Christ the Lord teaches us: it has been said an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, but I say unto you that ye resist not evil but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek turn to him the other also. And again: give to him that asketh thee and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away. Do good to them that hate you and pray for them which persecute you.

[17] This "To the reader" is written by Johannes Waldner, the author of the Smaller Chronicle, as an introduction to his insertion of the document which he wanted to be included in the story but which was missing in the Greater Chronicle. The document itself was taken from another ms. book, and has as its author Andreas Ehrenpreis, then minister of God's Word at Sabatisch, Slovakia.

[18] *Klein-Geschichtsbuch,* 160-68; *Die älteste Chronik,* etc., 817-25.

And this we must understand above all with regard to the authorities (much more than with regard to soldiers and robbers), and there is not the slightest excuse, argument, or comfort in taking the liberty of standing up against the authorities and defending ourselves.

Paul says: Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God. And they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. (Rom. 13:2).

Peter, the Apostle, commands: Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake whether it be to the king as supreme or unto governors as unto them that are sent by him (and that not only to the kind and friendly ones but also to the uncouth). For so is the will of God that with well-doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men. As free, and not using your liberty as a cloak of maliciousness. For this is thankworthy if a man for conscience toward God endures grief and suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it if when ye be buffeted for your faults ye shall take it patiently? But if when ye do well and suffer for it ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God. (I Peter 2:13f.)

In the year of our Lord 1595, the Elders declared before the Gemein and also earnestly commanded that if something is taken away from us by force, for instance taxation by the authorities, one should not resist them with improper words. Or if the soldiers take something away from us or press hard upon us with wicked words then nobody should be caught in talking back to them which might cause them to do harm to the Gemein. In this every earnest Christian should be very careful. Our forefathers also recognized and warned that if ever so little was taken from someone or he otherwise went through a bad experience that he should not right away without being advised run to the judge to accuse or incriminate. This brings often nothing but evil consequences along with it and only complicates the issue. And even though we should suffer some robbery and harm in our worldly goods, yet it is more comforting and blessed that we keep our conscience clean and pure. For it is written: Ye took joyfully the spoiling of your goods, knowing in yourselves that ye have in heaven a better and enduring substance. (Hebrews 10:34).

Thus we clearly see that to riot, to resist, to push, to run around and to beat the lord's bondsmen (and as actually happened at Sabatisch even against one lord of the manor himself) can not be done without hurting the conscience. Also it does not do any good with the authorities.

As we all still remember so clearly that one Elder of the Gemein together with four brethren by such acts got into danger of life. They were led around the country as in a spectacle in a most disgraceful and shameful fashion; it almost looked as if he and some of the brethren would be taken to a frontier's fort against the Turks. Neither the Elder nor the brethren taken with him had had any part nor guilt in these upheavals and doings, yet had to suffer innocently such shame, fear and danger of life, even jail, beatings and fetters because of those who had shown no concern.

And if God, the Lord, whose help we felt so strongly, would not have taken our part through the supreme lords of the country, our Gemein would not have escaped without great harm, loss of goods, or even hurt and ruin of some brethren, being driven out to forests and highways, or, may be, even the destruction of our entire colony (Bruderhof) at Sabatisch. And even though the great lords took our part they could not achieve any real compromise. Rather it became necessary that the prince of the country, the Palatine, through one of his aides, gave order to such a settlement.

To prevent greater danger and harm, and to preserve the house in Sabatisch, and to protect the Gemein from greater perils, the Gemein was forced to accept the counsel and mediation of these lords (though it was not done too gladly). We were also warned and advised by some lords to compromise, that we might not be looked at as disobedient or as people who resist the authorities or even as Münsterites, and then would be driven out of the country. Since there was no other way out, such a settlement was eventually accepted.

Since the Lord, through the election by the faithful ones, has placed us as shepherds and watchmen over His Gemein, and by special means of grace appointed us to these functions, [we are mindful that] the Lord (through His prophet) speaks thus to the watchmen of Israel: Son of man, speak to the children of thy people and say unto them: When I bring the sword upon a land, if the people of the land take a man of their coasts and set him for their watchman: if, when he seeth the sword come upon the land, he blow the trumpet and warn the people. Then, whosoever heareth the sound of the trumpet and taketh no warning, if the sword come and take him away, his blood shall be upon his head. He heard the sound of the trumpet and took no warning. His blood shall be upon him. (Ezekiel 33:2-5)

So, beloved brethren, we ask for the sake of Christ that you would desist from rioting, beating, pushing around, scrambling for work, and like acts of violence. They all are nothing but sin. And if someone should object to this (so to speak in an economic spirit): are we then to permit any violent taking away of the possessions of our Gemein? To this we answer according to the teachings of Christ: yes. For it is more blessed to us and also of greater profit than if we would resist with violence, and thus would spoil our conscience. We would bring ourselves into such danger with the authorities, and besides would have to pay so much hush-money, that it hardly can be imagined. For as you well know: if someone of us just once said a word, even in the best intention, we never can pay them enough. If, however, we hold back whenever violence is done to us, be it by the lords, servants or subjects, then we can ask help and counsel from the authorities, in the hope to receive more than if we would protect and revenge ourselves with such danger in view (I mean the penalties of the authorities), not to speak of the hurting of our conscience. For it is very shameful and not at all in accordance with the faith in Jesus Christ, that a Christian should be condemned by the world for his evil deeds.

We therefore command you by the power which the Lord has given us through His word, to better the Gemein of God that henceforth no brother shall protect himself with violence from such robbery, iniquity, and pressure. And if someone should be disobedient to our word and command (which is not our, but God's word and command), to him will be meted out ban and penalty according to the Scriptures and the example of our forebears as we have learned it in our Gemein. Such a one we will leave to his own defense before the authorities, since he has trespassed against God, the Gemein, and the authorities. Once his case has been cleared by the authorities, and he is willing to do penance for his offense and foolishness, then we shall readily pardon him and take him back.

Also we will not suffer it any longer that people go their way with hoe, pick-irons and such abominable big sticks. If someone wants to go out then he should do it as a brother does according to old custom. Nowadays nobody wants to guard the cattle without having an ax with him. Long ago such practices were not allowed in the Gemein, for a cowboy has a better

control of the cattle with a stick than with an ax. And if someone carries an ax with him for self-protection, then it will avail him to detriment as much as to profit. There is also some rumor that some brethren (mainly those on lonely farms) own and use guns. This should not be, for what profit is a gun to the brother? It has never been permitted in the Gemein (in the past), and shall also not be permitted in the future.

We, the Elders, are no longer willing to stand up with goods, chattels and life for such rowdies as it was done this time at Sabatisch. Rather the one who sins should suffer penalty and make amends, so that the innocent may not suffer for him. This we have proved to you with writ and example of our forebears.

For it is a defection from faith that a brother should dare to knock down the one who did violence to him, to run after him when he is already fleeing, and still to beat him when down on the ground. Such brethren do not walk in the light but they walk in darkness, and the darkness has blinded their eyes. We do not want to have communion with them.

We hope and trust, however, that the faithful and good hearted ones, who forgot themselves and acted rashly out of human weakness and in their eagerness to preserve the property of the Gemein, that they will be willing now to listen to the warning sound of the trumpet of the Gospel and (henceforth) be deterred from endangering their salvation. Have they not left everything they possessed out of faith in the One who will judge all men on the Day of Judgment, namely Jesus Christ? However, remember well that He has said: I shall not judge you but the word that I have spoken, the same shall judge you on the Last Day. (John 12:48).

We also admonish you, beloved brethren, that you would shun not only rioting and beating, but also cursing and slandering and everything which could provoke anger with the authorities, their servants and all other men. Christ, our way, example, and savior, never chided when reviled, never threatened when suffering but left it to the One who judges righteously. Christ also teaches us: I say unto you that every idle word that men shall speak they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment (Mt. 12:36); also: For by thy word thou shalt be justified and by thy words thou shalt be condemned (Mt. 12:37).

Beware also of slandering the authorities, highest and lowest, whoever they may be, for it will not remain hidden among us anyway. You know that we are a poor and wretched people. It is true that we pride ourselves and declare at the Lord's table to be one bread and one body, in fact members of one body, and what is more, of the most noble body of which Christ is the head. And yet it must be admitted with sorrow that nothing is kept strictly among us. Rather that which has been spoken in confidence in the house, soon leaks out and is even brought before the authorities. This means spot and wrinkle to us, a people of God. (The Jews, by contrast, are much more close than we.) Whether those who act in this way may still be considered members of the body of Christ, that we leave to the judgment of every faithful one.

Be it as it may; even if we would keep it secret that we are slandering the authorities, calling them names and cursing them, it is yet not fitting the faith in Christ. As Job says in his book: Is it fit to say to a king, "thou art wicked"? And to the prince, "Ye are ungodly"? (Job 34:18).

Everything will come to the fore at its time, as the proverb says: no thread is spun so fine, it yet will come to light.[19] They also say: the fields have eyes and the forests have ears. Look only at the word and teachings of Christ who says: There is nothing covered that shall not be revealed, and hid that shall not be known (Mt. 10:26). Therefore, says the Scripture, curse not the king, no not in thy thought; and curse not the rich in thy bedchamber; for a bird of the air shall carry the voice, and that which has wings shall tell the matter (Eccl. 10:20).

Thus we pray you for your's and your salvation sake that every earnest Christian should fear God and these things as much as in other sins, and likewise should keep the commandments of God and Christ. Too, they should take off their spotted garments of sin, and make them white in the blood of the Lamb (Rev. 7:14). So that nobody should be found naked on the Day of Judgment. It would be surely pitiful if one had shared in suffering with the brethren, and then would forfeit his salvation for such reasons.

To forestall such happening we pray you and warn you from the depth of our heart. For the glory of God, also for the sake of the well-being of the Gemein, and for your own hoped-for salvation, [we trust] that every earnest Christian will suffer this [ordinance], and will diligently seek to live up to it. For this will serve his salvation and the weal of the entire brotherhood. Amen.

[19] In German the proverb runs like this:

Es ist kein Faden so fein gesponnen
Er kommt doch an die Sonnen

Waldner (or Ehrenpreis) writes "klein" instead of "fein" which is less correct to tradition.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND RESEARCH NOTES

Research on the Amish and Source Materials for the Study of the Amish

Although the Amish, like the Mennonites, are the spiritual descendants of the Swiss Brethren who date their beginnings from 1525, they probably have produced the smallest amount of literary work of any Protestant denomination. Their extant writings, however, are the most authentic original source for a study of their thought and life. The Old Order Amish are realistic Biblicists; that is, they give to the Scriptures a literal interpretation and endeavor to put their interpretation into practice in everyday living. In addition to the Scriptures they follow what they call "the ancient rules and regulations," "die alten Regel und Ordnungen." This term refers in part to the rules and regulations passed by a conference of Swiss Brethren ministers at Strasburg in 1568. But the "rules and regulations" also include certain oral traditions which have grown up around these and subsequent conference rules. In order to understand the Old Order Amish and their tenacious adherence to their inherited pattern of life, the student must become familiar with these conference rules, and also with the oral traditions as they are partially recorded, or at least implied, in letters and manuscripts of various kinds. These are the original source materials for a study of the Amish. Without this background of knowledge the student might live in an Amish community and still fail to understand Amish life, thought, and culture.

Since the Amish custom of retirement from the heavier secular duties at a comparatively early age afforded time and opportunity for writing and reflection, many of the more talented Amish deacons, ministers, and bishops spent many hours in their later life in original writing, and in copying earlier letters and manuscripts. Unfortunately, very few of these manuscripts are preserved. The writer's grandfather spent years in the preparation of such a manuscript. Because it was written in German, a language which some of his descendants could not read, its value was not appreciated and the manuscript disappeared. Because the manuscript was lost it is no longer possible to learn what it contained. This, no doubt, was the fate of many others. A notable exception is the manuscript of Bishop David Beiler containing a genealogical table, memoirs, and what appear to have been sermon outlines or summaries. Parts of this manuscript were printed in 1888 under the title *Das wahre Christentum* (Lancaster, Pa.).

The largest single collection of these Amish manuscripts was the property of Jacob F. Swartzendruber, an Amish minister whose ancestors came to Somerset County, Pennsylvania, from Germany and who later moved to Johnson County, Iowa. The various items in this collection were described briefly in an article in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* in July, 1946 (XX, 230-39). Careful study of the items in this collection should orient the student in a knowledge of Amish intellectual and spiritual backgrounds. Many items in this list have been discovered also in other collections. The first issue of the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (Jan. 1927) reprinted and translated one of these early manuscripts, and later issues printed translations of conference reports, ministers' manuals, and formularies from various sources. Some of the manuscripts so reprinted seem to have a Mennonite as well as an Amish provenance. This certainly is true of the conference rulings passed in 1568, more than a century before the Amish schism in 1693.

Within the past fifty or sixty years some of the progressive Amish laymen and ministers have submitted these old manuscript materials for publication. This was true of the formulary containing the Scripture readings for each Sunday of the year and the corresponding hymns from the *Ausbund* to be sung on the Sunday for which a given Scripture was considered appropriate. And in 1905 the Mennonite Publishing Company in Elkhart printed the resolutions of conferences at Strassburg in 1568 and 1607 and also later resolutions. The pamphlet contains also resolutions of Pennsylvania Amish and Holmes County, Ohio, Amish conferences, but prior to that date and even since that time these conference resolutions have circulated among Amish ministers in manuscript form.

The books most widely used and read among the Amish, Van Braght's *Martyrerspiegel,* the *Ausbund,* and the Prayer Book, are not Amish literature strictly speaking because they belong to an earlier period before the Amish schism. But both the *Martyrs' Mirror* and the *Ausbund* are important source material for the student of Amish faith and practice. Here is embodied in song, story, and testimony the principles which distinguished the Swiss Brethren from their contemporaries and for which they suffered a martyr's death. The Amish have asked for repeated printings of the *Ausbund,* and it is they who still preserve it in the form it has kept for centuries. John F. Funk once told the writer that, when he was asked to reprint the *Ausbund,* he decided as a favor to the Amish to include an appendix of six new hymns. After the hymnbook was printed and the Amish had purchased a number of copies, they returned it to him and demanded their money back because it was not "our book." He tried to explain that in every detail, page for page and word for word, the book was the same as the original *Ausbund* except that at the end he had added these six hymns which he was presenting to them free of charge. Their answer simply was "This is not our book. We cannot use it." He repurchased all the books that he had sold, removed the cover and the six objectionable new hymns, rebound the books, and sold the entire edition in a short time. Each succeeding printing of the *Ausbund* has been identical with the preceding editions even to the pagination. This incident with others that might be mentioned indicates the tenacity with which the Amish preserve their ancient practices not only in forms of worship but also in their mode and manner of life.

Useful also to the student of Amish culture is the considerable number of letters written by and to the ministers who were the leaders in the movement commonly known as the Amish schism of 1693. Sixteen of these documents and letters written by participants in this controversy were translated by Milton Gascho and printed in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (XI, 235-66). This is the most reliable and thorough study of the Amman-Reist letters to the present time. In 1950 Christian Schlabach published a new edition of the letters of the Amish division. (*See* review in this issue.)

Smith's *Story of the Mennonites,* a standard work, presents, especially in the edition revised by Cornelius Krahn in 1950, an accurate account of the history of the Amish. Also valuable is Frederic Klees' chapter on the "Amish" in his comprehensive volume, *The Pennsylvania Dutch* (Macmillan, 1950). Valuable studies of Amish life and culture are Dr. Walter M. Kollmorgen's *The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania,* a study prepared for the U.S. Department of Agriculture in 1942, and Calvin George Bachman's fine monograph, *The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania,* published in the *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society* in 1942. The latter aims to present an exhaustive

study of the religious, social, and economic life of the Amish. H. M. J. Klein's *History and Customs of the Amish People* (York, Pa., 1946) and *Meet the Amish: A Pictorial Study of the Amish People,* by Charles S. Rice and John B. Shenk (New Brunswick, N.J., 1947) also are fair and unusually accurate studies. *The Mennonites in Iowa* (Iowa City, 1939), by Melvin Gingerich, contains a number of chapters describing the beliefs and practices of the Amish. These histories and studies with the two books by Joseph W. Yoder, *Rosanna of the Amish,* in 1940, and *Rosanna's Boys,* in 1948, are probably the best works on the history and inner life of the Amish. Yoder's books are an interesting fusion of fact and fiction but present an essentially correct picture of Amish life and customs. Wholly delightful is the treatment of the Amish in the juvenile books of Marguerite de Angeli, *Henner's Lydia, and Yonie Wondernose.*

Many of the earlier books and articles on the Amish were written by authors who knew little about the inner life and genius of these people. Their work usually was unsympathetic and gave a distorted picture of Amish life and culture. Such a book is Ruth Lininger Dobson's *Straw in the Wind,* an unsympathetic, unrealistic caricature of an Amish family in the vicinity of Middlebury, Indiana. Although the book won the $1500 prize for fiction at the University of Michigan, it is without value in representing Amish church and family life. The principal character of the story is a hard, unfeeling bishop who plays the role of a tyrant in his family and in the church circle. The author represents Amish virtues as the exception rather than the rule. The book is untrue also in its attempted representation of Pennsylvania Dutch idiom and expression.

Closer scrutiny of the Amish has led the student to look beneath appearances to the more significant elements in Amish culture. It is no longer considered good taste to write of them simply as "funny folks" whom no one understands and whom no one respects. The student of economics and sociology as well as the student of religion finds among these quiet, simple, pious, industrious people an example of a Christian community containing many elements in advance of their contemporaries. Since Amish culture has become a subject of serious study rather than a novelty for the pen of the journalist, many types of students have become interested in Amish community life.

The number of unpublished graduate theses relating to the Amish, or including them as part of a study, is increasing. These include such titles as Melvin Gingerich's "The Amish Mennonites of Iowa" (State Historical Society of Iowa); Ruth Bender's "Study of the Pennsylvania German Dialect as Spoken in Johnson County, Iowa" (University of Iowa); Alfred Lewis Shoemaker's "Studies of the Pennsylvania German Dialect of the Amish Community in Arthur, Illinois" (University of Illinois); Emily Brunk's "The Mennonites of Suburban Washington, D.C. . . ." (University of Maryland); Konrad E. Ebisch's "The Arthur, Illinois, Amish People: A Geographical Study" (University of Illinois); Ralph Ely's "A History of the Amish People of East Union Township, Wayne County, Ohio" (Ohio State University); L. R. Fletcher's "The Amish People of Holmes County, Ohio: A Study in Human Geography" (Ohio State University); A. V. Houghton, Jr.'s "Community Organization in a Rural Amish Community in Arthur, Illinois" (University of Illinois); Donald Thomas Kester's "A Study of the Pupil Holding Power of Union Township Schools, Mifflin County, Pennsylvania" (Pennsylvania State College); Velma Lahue Leeper's "The History, Customs, and Social Life of the Amish of Ohio with Special Reference to Holmes County" (Kent State University); Leland

Charles Lehman's "The Economic Development of the Mennonite Community at Berne, Indiana" (Ohio State University); D. Paul Miller's "Amish Acculturation" (University of Nebraska); E. Jane Miller's "The Origin, Development and Trends of the Dress of the Plain People of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania" (Cornell University); John Wayne Wentmore's "A Proposed Program of Education for the Amish People of Middlefield Township, Geauga County, Ohio" (Ohio State University); and John Paul Yoder's "Social Isolation Devices in an Amish-Mennonite Community" (Pennsylvania State College). Most of these theses show an appreciation and even an enthusiasm for Amish life and culture. A few profess to detect and possibly overemphasize certain apparently disintegrating influences in these Amish communities. Some make the common error of predicting that violent and sudden changes in the Amish community are imminent. In the past such predictions usually have proved false. The number of Amish adherents and even Amish communities is increasing.

A doctoral dissertation, "Mennonite Preaching, 1864-1944," completed at the Northwestern University School of Speech by Roy Herman Umble in 1948, is the first serious and extended study of Amish and Mennonite preaching. Chapter I, "Preaching Among the Mennonites," contains a section on the philosophy of Amish preaching and on the content and delivery of Amish sermons.

The Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College contains a large number of Amish manuscripts. Most of the manuscripts already referred to in this article can be found in this valuable repository of Amish materials. The Library also contains a considerable number of "research" papers written by Goshen College students and others under competent direction.

As mentioned earlier in this article the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* during the past twenty-five years has been printing a large number of articles on the Amish, their conference rulings, church services, church polity, administration of the ordinances, and church and community life. Articles appearing in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* and the *Mennonite Historical Bulletin* are produced for the most part by mature scholars and are thoroughly reliable not only for their factual material but also for the spirit in which they are written. Some other articles both in scholarly and popular magazines deserve mention. One of these, "A Description of an Amish Meeting," appeared in *Lippincott's Magazine* as early as March, 1872. Others have appeared in the following periodicals and magazines: *America* (December 18, 1937), *The Middlebury Independent* (June 18, 1936), *New York Times Magazine* (February 25, 1940), *American German Review* (April, 1948), *The Journal of American Folklore* (January-March, 1939), *The Journal of Educational Psychology* (May, 1944, April, 1943, April, 1944, and December, 1945), *American Speech* (April, 1945, February, 1947), *The Palimpsest* (December, 1943, October, 1936), *The Washington Evening Star* (November 30, 1939), *New Republic* (February 1, 1919), *The Pennsylvania German* (June, 1911), *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* (August 4, 1949), *Mennonite Life* (October, 1949), *The Musical Quarterly* (July, 1945, June, 1946), *Ohio State Archæological Quarterly* (1947), *National Republic* (September, 1936), *Holiday* (June, 1947), *The Farm Quarterly* (Summer, 1946), *The American Journal of Sociology* (November, 1943), *Southern Folklore Quarterly* (June, 1946), *Mennonite Weekly Review* (December 1, 1949), *National Geographic* (July, 1941, July, 1948), *The Family Circle* (June 14, 1940), *The Bookman* (November 13, 1913), *Coronet* (June, 1947), *The Saturday Evening Post* (March

30, 1940), *The Atlantic Monthly* (April, 1941), *The Independent* (June 11, 1903), *Historical Papers and Addresses of the Lancaster County Historical Society* (1935), *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* (June, 1942), *School and Society* (January 2, 1926), *Hobbies* (May, 1941), *The Wooster* (Ohio) *Daily Record* (August 8, 1949), and *Lancaster* (Pennsylvania) *Daily Intelligencer Journal* (September 29, 1950).

An interesting aspect of Amish culture is their music. In the church services they use the *Ausbund* and in their singings, weddings, and other social gatherings the *Unparteiisches Liederbuch.* Because the Amish sing all these tunes by ear and because the music has never been transcribed, this phase of Amish life until recently had not attracted the attention or at least not the activity of the research student. Although a number were curious and some even made recordings of hymns sung by Amish groups and individuals, little actual research had been done on the tunes until J. W. Yoder in *Amische Lieder,* in 1942, printed a transcription of the tunes sung by the Amish. This opened the way to a scientific study of the tunes. Earlier studies of the hymns by Wolkan and Ramaker had revealed that the text of many of the hymns in the *Ausbund* belongs to the best tradition of sixteenth century folklore. The newer studies on Amish music by George Pullen Jackson of Vanderbilt University connect the tunes to which the Amish sing the hymns in the *Ausbund* with medieval religious and folk tunes. Mary Oyer of Goshen College is the author of an article, "Music in the Amish Church," printed in the *Mennonite Historical Bulletin* (March, 1944).

Another source of information regarding the Amish is their family histories. Amish always have been interested in keeping a record of their ancestors and their relatives. In many communities even third and fourth cousins are considered rather near relatives and form a strong family group. Following the Hertzler family history printed in 1885, which is now being revised by Silas Hertzler of the Goshen College faculty, a number of Amish genealogies appeared: Mast-Stoltzfus-Hooley in 1911 and within the past decade Beechy, Kauffman, Bender, Borntrager, Joseph Kurtz, Detweiler-Kanagy, Lapp, Daniel Schlabach, John F. Miller, Joni Miller, Jeremiah Miller, Schlabach, and Miller-Schrock. A recent bibliography lists 39 Amish family histories.

A project completed by John Andrew Hostetler in Harold S. Bender's classes in Church History and Mennonite History at Goshen College will prove of great value to the student interested in research in Amish history, life, and thought. It is an annotated bibliography containing more than 500 items. The general divisions are "Published Books and Pamphlets," "Unpublished Graduate Theses," "Published Articles," and "Unpublished Sources." An "Analytical Subject Index," further divides the material into "General" (48 items, "Settlement History" (59), "Church Doctrines, Customs, and Practices" (62), "Narrative, Literature, Language, and Art" (25), "Amish Admonitory and Miscellaneous Writings" (17), "Hymnology" (8), "Biographies" (15), "Modern Scientific Studies" (26), "Feature Articles and Pamphlets of a More or Less Public Nature" (20), and "Genealogy" (37). This valuable bibliography by a young Mennonite scholar with an introduction by H. S. Bender was recently printed by the offset process at the Mennonite Publishing House at Scottdale, Pennsylvania.

—*John Umble.*

Recent Textual Treatments of the Amish

Rural Social Systems: A Textbook in Rural Sociology and Anthropology. By Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, Michigan State College. Prentice Hall, Inc., New York, 1950. Pp. 873.

The Ways of Men: An Introduction to Anthropology. By John Gillin, University of North Carolina. Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1948. Pp. 649. (209-220, 547 apply)

Marriage and the Family. By Meyer F. Nimkoff, Bucknell University. Houghton Mifflin Co., New York, Chicago, 1947. Pp. 767. (241-255 apply)

The Family: From Institution to Companionship. By Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke, University of Chicago. American Book Co., 1945. Pp. 800. (79-91 apply)

Rural sociology as a specialized branch of sociology has never been synthesized into a body of organized science as have other social sciences. Its advancement as a science has been brought about by the demand from public and private agencies for information on rural regions and rural living, with a view to improve social and economic conditions. Research projects done in this field have covered a wide range of subjects but, with few exceptions, reports on research enterprises have been chiefly concerned with producing information about rural conditions. This lack of basic research, and consequent absence of an adequate theoretical framework, may be attributed in part to the lack of funds for such purposes, as appropriations and grants are given to those research projects which promise immediate and "practical" usefulness. According to Carl C. Taylor, Head of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, who wrote the foreword to the text, Loomis and Beegle have made a "worthy attempt . . . to convert rural sociology research findings into a body of scientific sociological knowledge."

To understand the treatment of the Amish by Loomis and Beegle we must know something about their methods of investigating social phenomena, as the Amish are throughout the text compared to other social groups (specific references occur on pages 11-14, 341-42, 409, 411-12, 789). Actually there is no new material on the Amish, as the source of information is wholly from the Kollmorgen study. But the uniqueness of the discussion is the attempt to measure the interrelated factors of the Amish family and to compare them on a scientific basis to other social phenomena.

The book is based upon two principal frames of reference, the concept of the "social system" and the comparison of social systems by means of the Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft continuum. A social system ("in the concrete") is defined as an organization "composed of persons who interact more with members than with non-members when (the system is) operating to attain (its) objectives" (p. 4). "In the abstract" the social system is "one in which patterns of relationships prevail from generation to generation and from region to region" (p. 4) and does not require specific persons as part of the system. Social interaction, structured by certain cultural factors, makes up the social system.

The nature of the social system is determined by the interrelations of all its elements. The elements that make up the structure of the social system are roles, status, rights and duties, authority patterns, norms, and territoriality. Roles consist of expected individual action; status is the individual's rank, given by members' consensus; rights are defined as immunity from authority; duties are the requirements of the individual's role and of obedience to authority; and authority is the right and power to

influence others. The value orientation of a social system is determined by ends, the expected changes to be accomplished through the operation of the system, and the rules which govern the application of means in accomplishing the ends. These two, social structure and value orientation, are held as the basic type-parts of social systems. "Variations in both social structure and value orientation make for a general over-all variation in the nature of social systems" (p. 9). This statement would seem to clarify the authors' task, but a previous statement, "Even though all systems have patterns of authority, roles, rights and duties, and status, they may vary greatly in their value orientation" (p. 8), implies more precisely what they have accomplished in the bulk of the book.

It seems that the authors have done chiefly two things. They have outlined a "central core" for a theory somewhat of the "middle range," and they have built framework around the Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft dichotomy by converting it into a scale of gradients between these two "ideal types" of social interaction, which makes possible not only classes of social action but also the measurement of degrees of Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft types of behavior values. With this as a frame of reference they wrote a more or less standard rural sociology text. The contents are essentially the same facts of rural life that one can find in any standard text.

The scheme set up in Chapter I and elaborated on in Appendix A (to study rural life as "social systems") has little connection with what falls between. The change from other textbooks appears to be mostly in terminology. Instead of studying "institutions" and "groups" of various kinds, the student studies them as social systems. Were it not for the titles of the various Parts with "as social systems" attached, one fears that the student would lose sight of "social systems" in the mass of material presented. In broadening the range of phenomena which can be viewed from a single point of orientation, the social system approach is a step in the right direction, that of simplifying the picture of society. There is, however, no discussion of important phenomena such as social change, social control, and personality. What is presented seems logical as far as it goes.

The authors' utilization of Amish material is in their comparison of five types of social systems on a continuum. The five types are: an Amish family of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania; an El Cerrito, New Mexico, ditch association; a bureau of the United States Department of Agriculture; and the mean average scores of ninety World War II veterans' families and military units. The first three types were rated by an individual familiar with each system. The findings, with respect to the Amish, are that a high degree of familistic-Gemeinschaft qualities are characteristic of the Amish in contrast to the other social groups. This is quite naturally what one would expect to find, but this is the first attempt to compare scientifically the degree of "familistic" and "contractual" qualities of the various existing social phenomena.

In his introductory text to cultural anthropology ("the science of man as man, and a comparative study of human cultures"), Gillin gives us a sympathetic and unbiased account of the content of Amish culture, based primarily on the Kollmorgen study. In Chapter 10 he takes up "Cultural Situations: The Principle of Compatibility" and discusses the various components of human societies and the integration of cultures. This leads the author to illustrate certain features of cultural integration and consistency, as they function in a contemporary Amish community. He utilizes the Kollmorgen study and restates the problem in the light of cultural maintenance.

The historical account is reliable. Under "Distinctive Content of the Present Culture" the author treats "Dress and Ornament," "Distinctive Traits Associated with Material Equipment," and "Value System." As principal values of the culture he lists (1) nonconformity, (2) the Bible, (3) nonresistance and abstinence from litigation, (4) farming, and (5) money as essential for acquiring land. It would seem that the author overlooked an important item, the family. Furthermore, the five points are essentially two: adherence to the Bible, and agrarianism. He recognizes the two objectives of the culture as "the Christian way of life," and successful agriculture.

The author believes there are four patterns of maintenance: (1) social isolation with its complimentary doctrine of nonconformity, (2) certain rewards for practicing group culture, (3) fear of punishment, and (4) the inhibition of drives labeled as "worldly." Several cultural inconsistencies of the Lancaster Amish community are noted. The growth of population and the ecological area have produced social factors which are incompatible with the techniques of communication and transportation. The horse and buggy pattern is not adapted to frequent visits over distances of 25-30 miles, which results in the breakdown in the number and quality of primary contacts. The author is disposed to believe that "unless some changes are introduced in the patterns of travel and communication, the web of personal relationships upon which society rests will tend to loosen and 'come apart.'" There are other unresolved problems of maintenance: the conflict in education and especially the movement for consolidated schools, relief and governmental assistance programs designed to benefit the farmer, and the hard surface roads which "pound to pieces" driving horses in the course of a year or more.

Gillin observes that although the two objectives of the culture ("the true Christian life," and successful agriculture) support each other, religion does not wholly penetrate the agricultural objective. "The whole agricultural sector of the culture is secular and its mental systems are of the common-sense types. For example . . . they believe that one learns the proper agricultural techniques only by practice, but they employ manure and commercial fertilizer, rotation of crops, planting of legumes to restore nitrogen to the soil, and so on. There are no religious rites or beliefs associated with this work." This statement, it seems to us, is evidence of the author's failure to grasp the full significance of the Amish way of life. While the Bible does not mention what kind of fertilizer (etc.) one shall use, Amish religion does dictate how it shall be applied (e.g., horse-drawn equipment). A whole configuration of religious mores are associated with Amish agriculture, and the Amish perhaps more than any other sectarian society make the "secular" arrangements of life subordinate to religion.

Nimkoff describes the Amish in his text *Marriage and the Family* (pp. 241-55, 260) under "Ethnic Variations in American Family Life" (Chapter 8), where he also contrasts Bohemian, Mexican, and Orthodox Jewish families. He has deliberately chosen the Amish as an unusually homogeneous and distinctive group to illustrate the rich diversity in family life among minority groups in the United States. His interest in them is well stated: "Indeed, the description of the Amish is a striking study in arrested social change. It is as though the evolution of the family had been frozen in Germany and Switzerland two or three hundred years ago. The Amish are like an archeological find, or like the paleological recoveries from the La Brea pits in Los Angeles, except that the Amish are in our midst, are still part of our present American scene, and are well adjusted economically.

These 'Plain People' illustrate perfectly what a rich and powerful institution the family was in olden times, before the advent of the modern technological age. For this reason they are much more significant sociologically than their small numbers would suggest" (p. 254).

The author's presentation of Amish family life and culture, headed under the titles "Historical Background," "Dress," "Courtship," "Marriage," "Housing," "Division of Labor," "Economic Functions," "Religious functions," "Education," and "Recreation," is based on reliable secondary sources. There are several errors which could have been avoided, like "Meno" for Menno Simons (p. 242), "Home" instead of House Amish, and the date of the Amish division is erroneously given as 1620. The author gives no justification for classifying the Dukobors with the Amish and other Plain People; they have not "much" in common, but little.

His statement that "Amish girls usually marry when they are about seventeen or eighteen years old, the boys when they are twenty or twenty-one" is not substantiated, and seems to us wholly unfounded. At least it does not correspond to the recent findings of this writer (1950) for Mifflin County Amish (Pa.) where the mean age at marriage for girls was 22.3, and for boys 24.2, which actually differs little from rural-farm non-Amish people. Neither does the statement conform to the findings of Dr. Maurice A. Mook who discovered that in Crawford County, Pa., the mean age at marriage for Amish men was 22.9, and for women 20.8.

Finally, Burgess and Locke in their discussion of "The Rural Family" (Chapter 3) compare and contrast the family solidarity of the six (U.S.-D.A.) Rural Life Studies made in the early 1940's, of which the Old Order Amish of Lancaster County (by Kollmorgen) was one. A further comparison of the families in these six rural communities is made in terms of (1) family unity, (2) methods of inheritance, (3) the economic roles of family members, and (4) familism. In five tests of familism the Amish ranked highest in every instance. These criteria were: the feeling of belonging, integration of individual activities for the achievement of family objectives, the conception of a common interest in family property, aiding members in trouble, and the perpetuation of the family through maintaining continuity between the old parental family and new families. Again, we have here no new information on the Amish, but a scientific comparison of several facets of social phenomena already known.

All of these analyses are wholly or partially based on the pioneering work of Dr. Walter M. Kollmorgen (*The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.* Rural Life Studies: 4. Washington, D.C., U.S.D.A. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1942). It will be remembered that this was one of a series of six community research projects conducted by the Department of Agriculture under the able direction of Carl C. Taylor "to investigate the cultural, community, and social psychological factors in rural life, with special reference to those factors which facilitate or offer resistance to change, contribute to adjustments and maladjustments and to stability and instability in individual and community life." These four textual treatments of the Amish attest to the fruitfulness of the Kollmorgen study for understanding the Amish culture in contrast to the larger society.

It is unfortunate that "cultural studies" of this nature are now prohibited by the lack of appropriation legislation and, according to Carl C. Taylor, the Department of Agriculture does not at present contemplate any future studies of an anthropological nature. —*John A. Hostetler.*

The Home of Jacob Amman in Switzerland

The letters concerning the Amish division which took place during the last decade of the seventeenth century make no mention of the place of origin or place of residence of the main character in the controversy, namely, Jacob Amman.[1] The same may be said of Ulrich Ammann and others connected with the schism. Hans Reist, leader of the group that resisted the changes in church doctrine introduced by Jacob Amman and his associates, was a native of Obertal near Zäziwil on the western edge of the Emmental region of Bern.[2] For information on this point one must go beyond the letters written by the participants of this Anabaptist division and delve into the contemporary state and also the state church records of the general area known to have been visited by Jacob Amman in his tour of the Anabaptist congregations of the Republic of Bern and of Alsace.

The first mention in a state document of Jacob Amman is in a list of all the Anabaptists living in the region of Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines in Alsace dated February 27, 1696.[3] Since this document was written in the French language the name appears here as *Jacque Aman.* A second list of Anabaptists of the same region compiled in 1703 is signed by *Jacob Amann.*[4] In 1708 a third list of a similar nature reveals the name *Jakob Aman.*[5] Just five years later (1713) the Anabaptist congregation of the valley of Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines was nearly rendered extinct when French orders were issued evicting them from Alsace. Most of the members of this settlement went to Lorraine, the Principality of Montbeliard, the Duchy of Zweibrucken and the Breisgau. What became of Jacob Amman after this time is not known.

An adult daughter of Jacob Amman was baptized and admitted into the official state church at Wimmis in the Republic of Bern in the year 1730. This document also mentions that Jacob Amman was an Anabaptist minister who was a native of the Erlenbach commune located in the Simme valley south of Thun. It also reveals the fact that he had died before this time outside of the Republic of Bern.[6] Jacob Amman's daughter was given four Thallers ($50) by the state when she joined the state church. The state was considered as her godfather.[7]

A psalm book once belonging to Jacob Amman contains a note written by his son, *Baltz Ammen,* mentioning that he inherited the book from his father, Jacob. It further states that Jacob Amman was no longer living. The note is dated October 4, 1741.[8]

[1] For an excellent study of the theological and historical background of the Amish division based on the extant letters written by the leaders involved in the controversy see Milton Gascho, "The Amish Division of 1693-1697 in Switzerland and Alsace," *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* XI, 235-66 (October, 1937).

The spelling of the family name Amman takes on various forms. The church records at Erlenbach, which would be the most official source for information on this point so far as our subject is concerned, quite consistently give the spelling as *Amman.* This form will be used in the present study. The only records that mention Jacob Amman's co-worker, Ulrich, use the form *Ammann.*

[2] *Christlicher Gemeinde-Kalender,* XVII (1908), 140, note 1. The editor does not give his source for this information.

[3] *Archives Départmentales du Haut Rhin,* E 2808.

[4] *Ibid.,* E 2014.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Staats Archiv Bern,* B III, 191. *Manual der Täufer Kammer,* II, 195-6. April 12, 1730. ". . . eine Tochter des ussert landts verstorbenen Täuffer Lehrer Jacob Ammans von Erlenbach."

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] This *Psalmenbuch* is located in the *Altevangelischen Taufgesinnten Archiv* at the

The church records at Erlenbach, native commune of Jacob Amman, give some information on the Amman family but no conclusive evidence concerning his parental background. On May 4, 1688, *Michel Ammon* and his wife, Anna, were questioned by the Erlenbach church officials as to whether they were Anabaptists. They answered in the negative.[9] The very fact that they were questioned would indicate that they at least at one time had some connection with the Anabaptists of the area. Michel Amman and his daughter, Catherine, were censured by the same officials on July 9, 1693, for not attending church services nor communion for some time. They were warned that if they would not attend communion in autumn they would be considered as Anabaptists and punished accordingly.[10]

In the baptismal records of Erlenbach only two Amman families are recorded. A brief résumé of the information given there follows:[11]

Uli Amman, a tailor — Married at Erlenbach.
Trina (Catherina) Platter
She died February 8, 1618

Children:
Vreni. Baptized July 29, 1610
Elsi. Baptized February 28, 1613
(Twins) Born and died March 25, 1614
Michell. Baptized August 18, 1615
Jacob. Baptized October 12, 1617

Michell Amman, son of Uli Amman and Trina Platter.
Anna Ruppen. Baptized March 6, 1614. Daughter of Clauwi (Cleophas) Ruppen of Erlenbach and Christina Hari. Married at Erlenbach March 5, 1638.

Children:
Madlena. Baptized December 16, 1638
Hans. Baptized April 24, 1642
Jacob. Baptized February 12, 1644
Cathrina. Baptized March 21, 1647
Anna. Baptized March 16, 1651

It is possible that our subject is the Jacob Amman who was baptized in 1644, but not probable since he was called a "young fellow" in a letter written by Hans Reist.[12] It is also possible that he was a son or grandson of Jacob Amman who was born in 1617, or the son of Hans, born 1642, or Jacob, born 1644. That our subject was born at Erlenbach is quite likely since he was certainly born before the great migrations of the 1670's. His great influence among the Oberland Anabaptist congregations would also indicate his close personal connection to the area. If his parents were Anabaptists at the time of his birth he would not have been baptized as an infant, hence he would not have been recorded in the baptismal record.

main meetinghouse of the Sonnenberg congregation, Jeangisboden, near Tavannes (Berner Jura), Switzerland.

[9] *Erlenbach Chorgerichts Manual*, 1687-1713. May 4, 1688.

[10] *Ibid.*, July 9, 1693. Just two weeks later (July 23) Abraham Lötscher of Latterbach was warned by the same church officials in the same manner. He was also given a copy of the book published earlier in the same year entitled *Probierstein oder Schrifftmässige . . . Gewissenhaffte Prüffung Dess Täufferthums. . . .* See John Horsch, *Mennonites in Europe*, 396-98. Members of this Lörtscher family figured in Anabaptist persecutions of the time.

[11] *Erlenbach Tauf-Rodel*, I.

[12] Gascho, *op. cit.*, 242.

Ulrich Ammann was another leading character in the Jacob Amman-Hans Reist controversy. Gascho suggests that Ulrich and Jacob were possibly brothers.[13] In a list of Anabaptists living in the Principality of Neuchâtel in 1733 some facts are given about one Ulrich Ammann. He was born in 1661 at Oberhofen near Thun in the Republic of Bern, this being also his place of citizenship. Because of persecution he fled to the Principality of Neuchâtel in 1709 settling at Bussy in the Val de Ruz for one year. He then moved to Peseux near Neuchâtel where he was living in 1733, the date the report was made.[14] During the eighteenth century this section of the Principality contained several flourishing congregations of Anabaptists that held to the teachings of Jacob Amman. Most of the families originated at and migrated from the Thun and Oberland regions of Bern, the area from which their founder had come.

The indication is that there was no blood relationship between Jacob Amman and Ulrich Ammann. The family of Amman in its various spellings is native to numerous communes in Bern.

Further research, it is hoped, will reveal data to illumine more the background and history of Jacob Amman and the other leading participants in the Amman-Reist schism. —*Delbert L. Gratz.*

[13] *Ibid.*, 244. No source for this supposition is given.
[14] *Archives de l'Etat Neuchâtel,* T 1. 956.

Mennonitisches Lexikon Resumes Publication

After a long interruption of almost ten years, the last installment (#36) having appeared in September, 1942, the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* has resumed publication. Installment #37, pages 289-336, "Oberurbach" to "Pati," has just appeared under the date of January, 1951. The *Lexikon* has now lived through two world wars, the loss of a large block of subscribers in Russia, and the death of its two original editors, Dr. Christian Neff, of Weierhof, Germany, and Christian Hege, of Frankfurt, Germany, as well as of many of its original collaborators. Its reappearance is a tribute both to the loyalty of the German Mennonite conferences to the enterprise in spite of their heavy financial burdens and depleted scholarly leadership, and the support of American Mennonites. In the January, 1949, issue of this *Review,* pages 7 to 10, a comprehensive statement of the new plans for the continuance and completion of the *Lexikon* was given. The hopes expressed in that article for an early appearance of installment #37 were not realized, largely because of the absence of the chief editor, Dr. Ernst Crous, in the United States as exchange professor for the entire year of August, 1949-August, 1950. Due to the increase in costs, the price of the new installment has had to be increased from DM 2 to DM 3 or 75 cents. Copies can be ordered through the Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, the Mennonite Publication Office, Newton, Kansas, and D. M. Friesen and Sons, Altona, Manitoba.

In typography and format, the new installment conforms very closely to the previous standards so that readers will not find any disturbing differences when the third volume is bound. The paper, which was delivered from America, is of much better quality than that used in the war-time installments in Germany.

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Mennonitisches Lexikon Resumes Publication

After a long interruption of almost ten years, the last installment (#36) having appeared in September, 1942, the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* has resumed publication. Installment #37, pages 289-336, "Oberurbach" to "Pati," has just appeared under the date of January, 1951. The *Lexikon* has now lived through two world wars, the loss of a large block of subscribers in Russia, and the death of its two original editors, Dr. Christian Neff, of Weierhof, Germany, and Christian Hege, of Frankfurt, Germany, as well as of many of its original collaborators. Its reappearance is a tribute both to the loyalty of the German Mennonite conferences to the enterprise in spite of their heavy financial burdens and depleted scholarly leadership, and the support of American Mennonites. In the January, 1949, issue of this *Review,* pages 7 to 10, a comprehensive statement of the new plans for the continuance and completion of the *Lexikon* was given. The hopes expressed in that article for an early appearance of installment #37 were not realized, largely because of the absence of the chief editor, Dr. Ernst Crous, in the United States as exchange professor for the entire year of August, 1949-August, 1950. Due to the increase in costs, the price of the new installment has had to be increased from DM 2 to DM 3 or 75 cents. Copies can be ordered through the Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, the Mennonite Publication Office, Newton, Kansas, and D. M. Friesen and Sons, Altona, Manitoba.

In typography and format, the new installment conforms very closely to the previous standards so that readers will not find any disturbing differences when the third volume is bound. The paper, which was delivered from America, is of much better quality than that used in the war-time installments in Germany.

As to contents, it should be said first that much of the 37th installment was surplus material from the previous (1942) installment, and the current issue comes from the press almost exactly as the original editors had planned it, although with a few new contributions chiefly by Doctor Crous, N. van der Zijpp (Dutch articles), Eberhard Teufel, Samuel Geiser (Swiss articles), and certain other single article writers. The most significant articles are: Oesterreich (Loserth), Oekolompad (Neff), Oncken (Reisinger), Ostfriesland (Neff), and Ostpreussen (Horst Penner), which together cover 14 of the 48 pages. The general editorial style and content as established by the original editors has been retained practically unchanged except that obvious errors in the manuscripts have been corrected and an attempt has been made to add literature which has appeared during and since the war. In the light of the above, the new editors for the Lexikon have decided to continue the names of the late editors, Hege and Neff, on the title page, rather than displacing them with their own. They plan to continue this policy until completion of Volume III which should be possible in approximately eight additional installments, using largely the manuscripts on hand and not attempting an exhaustive publication. In this way, the character of the original publication and the responsibility of the original editors will be maintained, and their names permanently attached to the three full basic volumes of the *Lexikon.* A supplementary volume to be published after the completion of the three basic volumes in accord with the intention of the original editors will then be published under the name of the new editors, namely Dr. Ernst Crous of Göttingen, Germany, and Dr. H. S. Bender, of Goshen, Indiana. Considerable material in the way of corrections and additions to the previously published articles had been assembled by the original editors, particularly Christian Hege, all of which is naturally available for the supplementary volume. In addition, the expected appearance of the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* in 4 volumes (1952ff) with its extensive new material, particularly in American articles, will greatly aid the preparation of a supplementary volume. All the material in this *Encyclopedia* will be made available for the use of the editors of the *Lexikon* supplementary volume in accord with an agreement between the publishers and editors of the two publications, the German *Lexikon* and the American *Encyclopedia.*

It is hoped that the following installments will appear in more rapid succession at the rate of at least two and possibly three per year. Installment #38 should be available in the autumn of 1951. The new printer of the *Lexikon* is Heinrich Schneider, long established Mennonite printer and publisher of Karlsruhe, Baden, Germany. —*Harold S. Bender*

BOOK REVIEWS

The Letters of the Amish Division. Translated and edited by John B. Mast. Oregon City, Oregon: Christian Schlabach, 1950. Pp. 120. 55 cents, from Malinda Yoder, Thomas, Oklahoma.

The chief sources of information about the Amish division are several collections of letters that had originally been written at or about the time of the controversy. These letters had been copied and circulated among both factions and were handed down from one generation to the next. In 1871 a collection of these letters was published by Joseph Stuckey in a pamphlet entitled *Eine Begebenheit die sich in Deutschland und in der Schweiz von 1693 bis 1700 zugetragen hat.* The fourth edition of this pamphlet was published in 1936 by L. A. Miller of Arthur, Illinois. This edition contains a letter by Jacob Amman that had not previously appeared in print. Another collection was published by Johannes S. Steiner of Bluffton, Ohio, in 1876 with other material in a pamphlet entitled *Eine Verantwortung gegen Daniel Musser's Meidung's-Erklarung.* We find another collection printed in the *Christlicher Gemeinde Kalender* (Germany) of 1908, 1909, and 1915.

Of course all of these letters were written in German and so many persons who would be interested in reading them are handicapped. The reviewer would have appreciated having had access to an English translation when he made a study of the Amish division a number of years ago. Some time ago Christian J. Schlabach of Hubbard, Oregon, translated the *Begebenheit* pamphlet, but because of his poor command of the English language, did not succeed in having his work published. However, through L. A. Miller of Arthur, Illinois, he contacted John B. Mast of Weatherford, Oklahoma, who made another translation of the entire contents of the *Begebenheit* and also of all the letters found in the two collections mentioned above, comprising a total of sixteen documents. This work has now been published in a 120-page paper-bound booklet entitled *The Letters of the Amish Division,* translated and edited by John B. Mast.

Besides the translations of the various letters the booklet contains a map of the area in which the division took place, showing most of the places mentioned in the letters. It also has a list of names of ministers involved in the controversy, indicating their nationality and to which side they adhered. Pages 109 to 120 contain a conclusion written by Christian J. Schlabach in which he indicates his desire that his readers recognize the danger of the strict observance of the ban as practiced by the Amish. He also expresses his desire for the re-uniting of the various Mennonite groups. There are a few editorial references to other publications which give additional information about persons mentioned in the letters.

It is difficult to translate from the German without sometimes carrying German idiomatic forms into the translation. This occurs a number of times in this work. The translator anglicized many of the names found in the letters. While he did not change Peter Zimmerman to Peter Carpenter, he did change Hans Gut to John Good, Hans Meyer to John Moyer, and Christian Blank to Christian Plank. It may be a question whether this was necessary. While there may be something to be desired as far as the grammar of this translation is concerned, it might be well to note that the German used in the letters was not always the best German either.

Goshen, Indiana. Milton Gascho.

The Pennsylvania Dutch. By Frederic Klees. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950. Illustrated, selected bibliography, map of the heart of the Pennsylvania Dutch country. Pp. ix + 451. $5.00.

This book is a comprehensive volume on Pennsylvania Dutch culture, "a treasury of information about a delightful people" as the publishers describe it. There is no aspect of the life of the Pennsylvania Dutch that escapes treatment. Part one consists of seven chapters on "Religion"; part two devoting six chapters to "The Past" reviews immigration, settlement, contacts with the Indians, and the wars fought on Pennsylvania soil; part three contains three chapters on the economic life of the Pennsylvania Dutch; part four in four chapters describes the country and the people; part five covers their folkways under six chapter headings; and part six has six chapters on their arts.

Frederic Klees was born at Reading, Pennsylvania, educated at Oxford, and for twenty-three years has taught English at Swarthmore College. Himself a Pennsylvania Dutchman and having observed and studied his people for many years, Klees may perhaps be regarded as the foremost authority on the subject. His detailed knowledge of the history and culture of the various Pennsylvania Dutch groups is remarkable. He writes with deep sympathy and with a bias that is as open as it is delightful. "I celebrate the Dutch way of life," he states in his introduction, "the Christmas *putz,* the crazy-clean housewife with a broom, Amish wagons on Ridge Road, clocks set half an hour ahead . . . . In part I write because my heart is full and I must . . . . Then, too, I have a more serious purpose: I hope to correct a few of the weird beliefs about the Dutch that the rest of the country cherishes so fondly . . . ."

Although there are references to the Amish and Mennonites in various sections of the book, it is in the first several chapters that these groups are given extended treatment. Chapter two devotes eighteen pages to the Mennonites and chapter three, containing thirty pages, is entitled "The Amish." In both chapters the treatment is fair, sympathetic, and unusually accurate. A brief history of the groups, a description of their doctrine, and discussions of their way of life and their contributions to American society are here presented interestingly and clearly.

A few errors, however, crept into these chapters, which could have been avoided if this part of the manuscript had been submitted to a qualified Mennonite historian. To select a few, Menno Simons did not appear "in Switzerland" as a leader of the Anabaptists (p. 21). The most recent edition of the *Martyrs' Mirror* was not 1916 (p. 21) but 1950. "All the books in a Mennonite household are religious books" (p. 21) is certainly not true now and perhaps never was true. Dirk Philips was a Dutch Anabaptist of the sixteenth century and therefore could not have been an Amish preacher (p. 31). The purpose of the prayer cap worn by the Amish women is not to prevent the vanity of displaying the hair (p. 33). It is not true that by 1750 "practically all the Amish in the world had settled in Pennsylvania" (p. 37). Hundreds of Amish settlers came to America in the nineteenth century. It is not correct to say that the Peachey Amish "are even less orthodox than the Church Amish" (p. 38), for the opposite is true. This reviewer has attended Amish services in several states but he has never seen their song leader "line out" the melody (p. 41). The Amish do not have radios even in their barns (p. 42). "Milo" is not a "Biblical" name used by the Amish (p. 45).

Mennonite Research Foundation Melvin Gingerich

Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter. Herausgegeben vom Mennonitischen Geschichtsverein. Schriftleitung: Dr. Horst Quiring in Verbindung mit Dr. Ernst Crous und Past. Paul Schowalter. Verlag und Druck Heinrich Schneider, Karlsruhe (Germany). Neue Folge/Nr 1, 6. Jahrgang, (April, 1949), 48 pp. and Nr. 2, 7. Jahrgang (April, 1950), 80 pp. (Price 5 DM each except for individual members in Germany).

Contents for April, 1949: Unsere Zeitschrift (E. Crous); Zum Gedenken an Chr. Neff (P. Schowalter); Bibliographie von Chr. Neff (P. Schowalter); Zum Gedenken an Chr. Hege (Chr. Neff); Gedenkworte (U. Hege); Christine Hege (W. Fellmann); Bibliographie von Chr. Hege (Chr. Neff); Zum Gedenken an U. Driedger (H. Reimer); Walther Koehler (E. Crous); Herbert Wiebe (K. Kauenhowen); Fritz van Bergen (K. Kauenhowen); Generalversammlung 1947 (E. Crous); Generalversammlung 1948 (E. Crous und P. Schowalter); Mennonitische Zeitschriften und Bücher (P. Schowalter); In Memoriam.

Contents for April, 1950: Zum Geleit (H. Quiring); Kartei ostdeutscher Menno-Sippen (W. Zimmermann); Westpreussische Mennoniten im Wandel der Zeiten (H. Penner); Zur neuesten Literatur über die christliche Taufe (B. H. Uuruh); Der Beitrag des Mennonitentums zur Lösung der sozialen Frage (O. Schowalter); Eine Täuferversammlung in Zollikon 1525 (F. Blanke); Zwei Täufer-Dramen (S. Geiser); Mennoniten und Wiedertäufer in der deutschen Literatur (H. Quiring); Generalversammlung des Mennonitischen Geschichtsvereins 19.6. 1949 (P. Schowalter); Dr. Hendrik van Delden (P. Schowalter); Zur Geschichte der historischen Forschung unter den deutschen Mennoniten (A 1909 letter of Christian Hege to Christian Neff).

For a review of the contents of the first five annual issues 1936-1940 see MQR April, 1950, pages 170 to 172.

We congratulate the Mennonite Historical Society of Germany (the only active national Mennonite Historical Society and one with over 500 dues-paying members) on the resumption of its periodical publication after nine years of suspension due to the war. Under the capable editorship of Dr. Horst Quiring, formerly pastor of the Mennonite Church in Berlin and now manager of the Stuttgart branch press and bookstore of the Basel Missionary Society, assisted by Dr. Ernst Crous, Göttingen, and Pastor Paul Schowalter, successor to the late Dr. Christian Neff as pastor of the Weierhof Mennonite Church, this annual will again fill a valuable place in Mennonite historical literature as it did in its first five issues.

The first half-size number (1949) is devoted exclusively (except for two pages of brief notices of German Mennonite periodicals and books published since World War II) to biographical sketches, tributes (and bibliographies of Chr. Hege and Chr. Neff) of German Mennonite historians who died in the period 1940-49. The second and full-size issue follows the pattern established 1936-1940, of several (2) major articles plus reports on research and literature. Dr. Horst Penner, a Mennonite secondary school teacher now located at Kirchheimbolanden, Pfalz, French Zone, in "Westpreussische Mennoniten im Wandel der Zeiten," gives a review of West Prussian Mennonite history, valuable though lacking in the theological and Christian life aspects. It is of interest to note that the Society has commissioned Dr. Penner to prepare a brief general Mennonite history to be available in 1951. Pastor Otto Schowalter of the Mennonite Church in Hamburg contributes an interesting and valuable survey of the history of Mennonite charities as well as some report of Mennonite economic practices and attitudes in his article, "The Mennonite Contribution to the So-

cial Problem." Professor B. H. Unruh's (Karlsruhe) helpful review of the recent German and Swiss literature on the question of baptism is more theological than historical in its reference to the Anabaptist-Mennonite position. Prof. Fritz Blanke of Zurich gives a detailed account from the sources of an early Anabaptist meeting in Zollikon near Zurich on Jan. 25, 1525.

Goshen College Harold S. Bender

A Ministry of Goodwill. A short account of Mennonite Relief 1939-1949. By Irvin B. Horst. Akron, Pa.: The Mennonite Central Committee, 1950. pp. viii 118.

This is a well-organized, well-written account of a great work—the relief work of the North American Mennonites during the decade 1939-1949 through the Mennonite Central Committee. The author, himself for three years during this decade director of a major MCC relief program, that in Holland, has the "feel" for the relief story which only personal participation can give, and this advantage plus diligent combing of the Central MCC Archives at Akron and a real capacity for writing clearly and interestingly have enabled him to deliver a first-class product.

The story told in these pages has an almost breath-taking sweep over four continents and twenty-two countries. A field staff of six hundred different workers served on foreign soil during these ten years, with a peak of 350 at one time. In the six years of 1944-1949 (the active period) they distributed over $7,500,000 in material aid, largely food and clothing. The total cash expense of the program was $3,800,000 for this period, but the administration expense for this $12,000,000 program was only $200,000 or 1-¾ per cent, a notable record.

In telling his story the author does not lose himself in the "gray mass of facts" and statistics, as he calls it, but skillfully weaves in colorful incidents and illuminating personal quotations from the workers on the field. And he sees the whole program not merely as a large-scale humanitarian effort, but as an expression of Christian faith and love, a spiritual witness to a better way. "As long as Mennonites seek to be a true brotherhood of believers and endeavor to implement their convictions of peace and nonresistance in the modern world they will share their faith and goods in devoted relief service." With these closing words of the final chapter on "The Continuing Compulsion," we heartily agree. The fine opening quotations on page ii from Pilgram Marpeck (1542) and the Petition to the Colonial Assembly of Pennsylvania (1775) point out the continuity of this compulsion throughout Anabaptist-Mennonite history. It remains for someone else to explain why for so long the spirit was dormant in spite of the fact that there were great needs in earlier war periods, or why there was such a remarkable overflowing of this spirit in the last decade.

A good printing job, helpful source citations for each chapter, a good annotated bibliography, and statistical appendices including a complete alphabetical directory of the 596 foreign service personnel, add to the reader's satisfaction with this excellent production.

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